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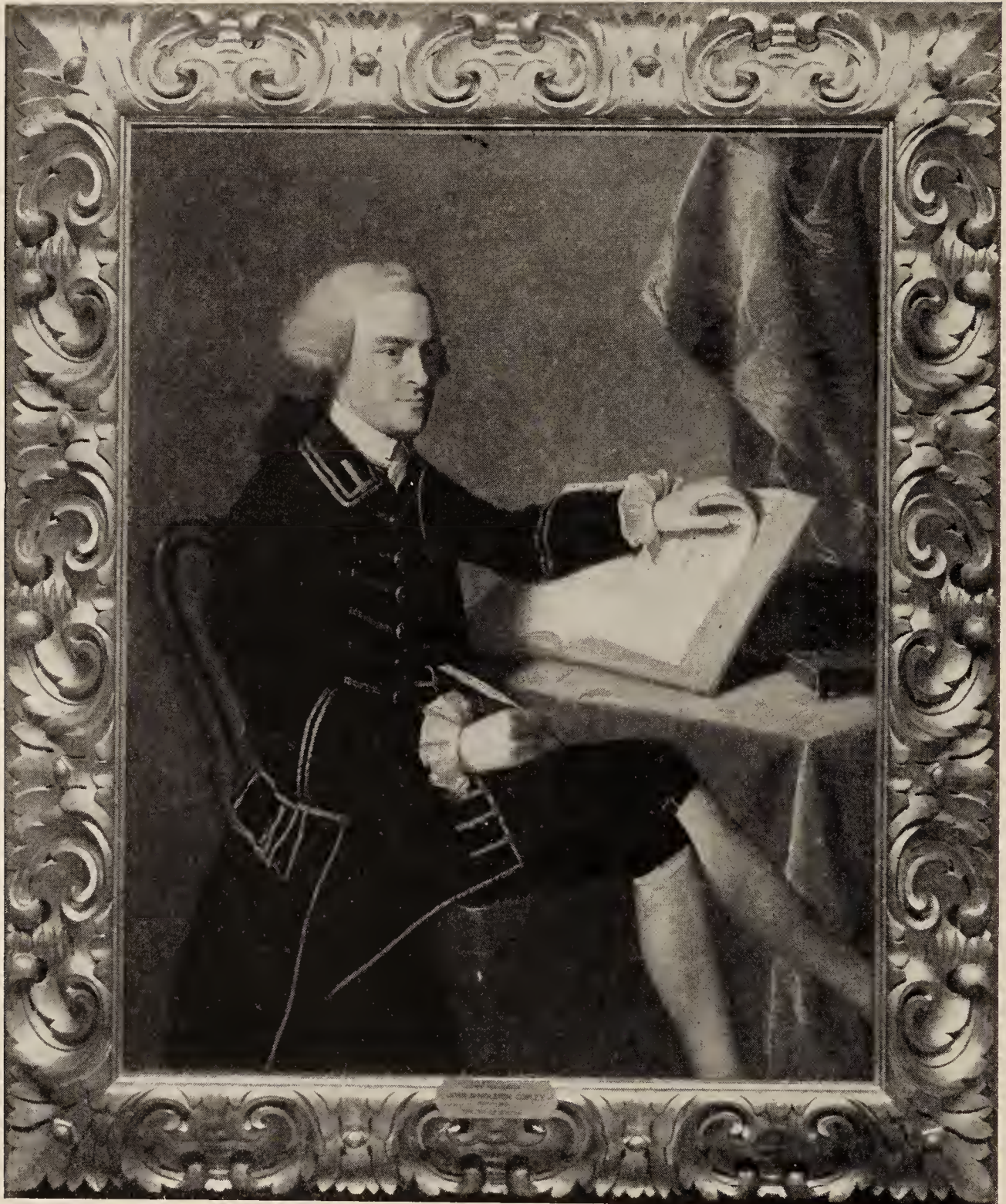
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THE STORY OF
MASSACHUSETTS



John Hancock

(Copy of Copley Portrait in Boston Museum of Fine Arts)

THE STORY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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VOLUME I

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Preface

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WHAT a great dream early Massachusetts cherished at its heart! The influence of that Puritan dream is felt to this day. It diffused a moral compulsion. It released upon this continent a spiritual momentum. Its by-products are beyond computation.

But the story of Massachusetts is more than a dream; it is a series of events. *The Story of Massachusetts*, as presented in the present work, undertakes to relate the series of events that have occurred from the beginning to the present. The compiler, Mr. William H. Clark, is experienced in research, in newspaper work, and in other fields of literary endeavor. *The Story of Massachusetts* is the best result of his native ability and trained powers.

The manuscript was read and annotated by Dr. Robert E. Moody, Professor of History at Boston University. For his scholarly criticisms, which make this *Story of Massachusetts* more valuable than it could otherwise have been, we are grateful.

Our aim has not been to produce something startlingly new. Indeed, it would be difficult to produce much concerning Massachusetts that is both startlingly new and true. Our purpose rather has been to present a full-orbed story of Massachusetts, which will be both authoritative and interesting.

Whatever may be its intermittences, exceptions and faults, the story of Massachusetts is the story of a progressive march from faith to works, from dream to substance, from ideal to reality. But the ancient faith is in the present works; the semblance of the old dream is in the substance of the new, and today's reality is judged by yesterday's ideal. It is this progressive march that we have tried to report in *The Story of Massachusetts*.

DANIEL L. MARSH,
Editor-in-Chief.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

Goodspeed \$12.50 (4 vols)

Foreword

THESE volumes are titled "The Story of Massachusetts" rather than "The History of Massachusetts" to indicate that our purpose has been to transcend the ordinary meaning of the word "history."

All too generally, a man's personal interests determine his conception of what history should be. Economists are convinced that history must be written in economic terms. Clergymen believe the contrary; they consider religious factors to be the decisive principles. Professional politicians commonly regard history as "mere past politics" and even the bookish Buckle failed to escape narrowness of view-point when, in writing his monumental "History of Civilization in Europe," he declared that history is properly the record of man's intellectual progress. It should be that, of course—but also much more.

We have sought to attain the ideal in two ways.

First, by assembling an Editorial and Advisory Board, composed of prominent men and women of the Commonwealth. They, by special knowledge and by actual participation in some of the modern adventures of the State, enable us, through their patience and kindness, to escape our personal limitations and a too narrow view-point.

Second, by deliberately including many chapters of unusual character for a history so that we may cover as wide a field of activity as possible. Of course, we have been limited in this inclusion: time and space, ability and wisdom, have caused us to omit much material. Doubtless, even more has been overlooked. Nevertheless, we have consistently sought to include what seemed to us the most pertinent.

Thus these volumes are not largely a record of wars and heroes, political perils and military triumphs. Battles and treaties are important but they are not the whole history of Massachusetts. The Bay State has a literary galaxy of starry brilliance. The saga of our vanished merchant marine is glorious. Our educational and industrial developments, to name but two activities, have set the pace for the entire nation. And in science, art, medicine, law, social service and many other fields, this Commonwealth has a noteworthy record.

"Massachusetts—there she is!" Daniel Webster's declaration, made a century ago in Washington, is today an expression of the manner in which everyone thinks of the Bay State. We do not think it necessary to do any boasting, such as the citizens of less fortunate

States evidently do. It almost seems impertinent to praise Massachusetts because—"there she is!"

However, in these modern times particularly, it is very advisable to consider how Massachusetts developed. Mother of the United States, torch-bearer for civilization, leader and prophet of better things to be, we *are* a great Commonwealth and in our history may well be found inspiration and courage for increased devotion to the welfare of the nation and the world in the future. The opportunity and responsibility of leadership has always been accepted by Massachusetts. Here is the story of how the Old Bay State met each challenge as it came.

We acknowledge most appreciatively the service of the Editorial and Advisory Board, namely:

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WILLIAM H. CLARK,
Compiler.

WINTHROP.

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CHAPTER I

Outline of Geological Formation

Geologically, Massachusetts is one of the oldest portions of the present crust of the earth; its history runs back many millions of years. Compared with the age of this section, the Alps and the Himalayas are mere infant prodigies.

Today, the Bay State is sober and staid enough to satisfy the most timorous, but down through multitudes of ages, there were long periods when great cataclysms thundered and flashed. Immense areas of solid rock were sunk beneath the sea and then raised up into the sunlight once more to the accompaniment of terrific earthquakes. Again, monstrous volcanoes erupted, and flooded vast regions with lava. And, to cap the climax, only yesterday, as geological time goes, the State was buried at least a mile deep beneath a sheet of solid ice. No person can picture what frightful scenes attended these mutations and certainly, whatever forms of life inhabited this territory were destroyed utterly time and time again until the present old age of Eastern North America arrived and enabled first plants and animals, then Indians, and finally white Europeans to live here. Of course, geological alterations are still going on; particularly along the shore, where in the memory of men now living, considerable changes have taken place. But, on the whole, this section is as dead and cold as any part of the earth can be—at least, for the present.

The geological formation of the State cannot be considered apart from the whole area lying between the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic Ocean, the area commonly known as the New England-Acadian Province or Section. In brief, the history is one of very ancient types of rock, mostly Pre-cambrian and elder Paleozoics, crushed and heated and folded like paper in a mountain-building process of varying degrees of elevation. Up through the crushed and uptilted rock masses poured rivers of igneous rock which, for the most part, failed to break through to the surface and cooled very slowly at great depths to make the present day granites which, with their large, coarse crystals, are so characteristic of New England today.

After this mountain-building process and igneous intrusion was completed (not without fireworks you may be sure), there followed a long cycle of erosion which, through thousands upon thousands of years, removed from the surface a layer of rock at least a mile thick. In the process, mountains were leveled to low, rolling hills and the greater part of New England to a flat plain, a large part of which sank below the level of the sea.

This development is known as the Cretaceous peneplane, from the supposed fact that it was accomplished during the Cretaceous Period.

Next came a new eon of stress and strain; once more volcanoes erupted and lava flowed. When the clamor was finally stilled, New England discovered that it had been lifted bodily about two thousand feet above sea level once more, with the original mountains still higher. This plateau upland area was peculiar in that it was not level but sloped down gradually from its highest portion in the north-west to the south-east where it disappeared beneath the Atlantic.

Once again a long period of erosion followed, although it was much shorter than the first cycle was. Near the sea, broad areas of softer rocks were worn completely away, but back in the higher reaches of the section, the rivers had only time enough to carve themselves narrow valleys. Because of the slope from north-west to south-east, streams following straight down the slope to the south-east were checked in their work by having to eat their way through dykes and ridges of harder rocks uplifted through soft strata, while streams running down the line of a soft strata, from north to south, had an easier course. Consequently, as is clear today, streams running north to south have long and comparatively open valleys, while streams running north-west to south-east are shorter, narrow and very irregular in their course.

When this erosion was finally brought to an end, the so-called Tertiary peneplane was formed, but it was of far less distinction than the first Cretaceous peneplane. It was concluded by a final slight uplifting of the crust, small in amount, which served to deepen the upper river valleys and broaden the lower reaches near the sea.

Through all this metamorphosis, the sea alternately invaded and retreated from the land. At the final submergence, only partially compensated for by final uplifting, the Atlantic invaded the lower parts of river valleys to form bays and estuaries, the "drowned valleys" found all over the world wherever subsidence has taken place. Low ridges in the valleys would be partially submerged, leaving their higher portions above water to form islands, islands often connected to mainland with the crests of the ridges, thus forming peninsulas. The ultimate result of this was the formation of a very irregular coastline, one rich

in islands, peninsulas, and featured with numerous small but well-protected harbors.

Much of this geological history is obscure because nearly all the direct formations caused by it were erased by glaciation. Within its millions of years of history, the earth has experienced several "ice ages." The last one, known as the Pleistocene ice age, receded from Massachusetts probably not more than twenty-five thousand years ago. This great mass of ice, originating probably in the Laurentian region to the northward, moved slowly, very slowly, down across New England in the general south-easterly direction.



STEERAGE ROCK, BRIMFIELD

As it came, it overwhelmed everything in its path. Tops of mountains were sheared off, all loose rock picked up and carried along. Armed with these teeth of granite, the ice sheet gouged away all the topsoil and pushed it ahead of itself in a great windrow.

Not content with removing the soil and the tops of the hills, the ice even changed the shape of what it left behind. As it climbed up the north side of hills, the cutting edge made a long, smooth slope but, as the edge passed down again on the southern slope, its descent was abrupt and thus our hills are all steep to the south.

Finally, when the ice sheet reached south about as far as New York

City and just south and east of Long Island, the climate changed again. From being colder than we can well imagine, it became progressively milder until at length the ice first ceased its advance and then slowly melted away.

What a confusion it left behind! The great windrow of dirt and rock fragments at its face, known as the terminal moraine, was left where it stopped, partly forming Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Long Island, according to some geologists. Streams of water rushing out from the melting ice in great volume and with greater force, carved the moraine into sections and undoubtedly washed the greater portion of it out to sea.

As the glacier retreated further and further north, it uncovered heaps of dirt, which, caught in topographic irregularities of the section, had been buried under the ice. These deposits assumed various forms: some are known as outwash plains; others, round, stratified, sandy mounds, are called kames; and others, winding, sandy ridges, are known as eskers.

Still another form was the drumlin; great elliptical heaps of unorganized debris, many of which are found about Boston and form several of the islands of the harbor and the town of Winthrop. These drumlins, however, were not formed by deposits left by the melting glacier but were formed during temporary shifts in the climate, periods in which the increasing warmth was halted by a year or so of bitter cold weather again, weather in which the ice ceased retreating and made a counter attack to the south again. In this skirmishing, great heaps of debris were rolled about by the advancing and retreating ice edge and thus the odd half-football shape of the drumlin resulted.

The influence of this glacial episode in forming the present character of Massachusetts (and New England) was all-important. Not only were the mountains brought low and the best soil removed and what was left behind strewn with boulders so thickly that agriculture is extremely expensive to practice, but the drumlins, moraines, eskers, and kames completely altered the drainage system. Rivers were shifted in their beds, and when a glacial deposit happened to be laid in the bed of a stream, as was the common habit of the ice sheet, a natural dam was created which caused ponds to form in the small rivers, and lakes in the larger.

Of course, through the thousands of years which have elapsed since the glacier withdrew back into Canada and to Greenland, most of these ponds and lakes have disappeared as their rivers gnawed their ways through the dams, but the influence of the formations is clearly marked everywhere and the magnificent diversification of the New England

landscape, so particularly rich in ponds and lakes and winding streams with frequent rapids and water-falls, is the direct heritage of the age of ice.

Probably from the beginning, when the Braintree slates (the oldest known rocks in Massachusetts) were formed, down to the present, when the Atlantic is busy grinding away at the coast line and destroying islands to form new beaches, half a billion years have elapsed. Of what happened before, we have no knowledge and of the period covered, our reading is probably faulty. But the history is a violent one, at least in part, and it may well be that we shall soon have a new chapter to write. Certainly, this area has several fault-lines—which is the name given to boundary lines between areas of weak rock and strong. Boston itself is built upon such an area which sank bodily not so very long ago and may sink again. Rumbblings of earthquakes, mere hints as to what might come some day, even in modern times have come from other faults deep in the Gulf of Maine and from the area north of the St. Lawrence.

Our everlasting hills, solid though they seem, are formed of sand and clay. Constantly, wind and weather are wearing them away and at any time the whole area may either sink once more or rise several thousand feet, while new mountains may form as the rocks are crushed together. Lava may break through and a new volcano rage in Boston, as one once did in what is now West Roxbury.

But these are geological changes and the clock of geology marks not hours or day or years, but ages; and in them, the life of man, even the life of a nation, is but as the single tick of the second hand of a watch.

CHAPTER II

Physical Geography

Physically, Massachusetts is characterized by great diversity. Long sandy beaches alternate with bold granite headlands, pounded by a ceaseless surf. Fertile river valleys are matched by the grim barrenness of boulder-strewn hillsides. The forested uplands of the western third of the State are balanced by the long level sands of Cape Cod.

Everywhere the State displays a varied and always beautiful face. The rounded contours of time-worn hills frame every landscape and the many valleys are enriched with innumerable lakes and ponds, while everywhere are streams and rivers, most small but some large, a few deep and placid but most swift, curved and, with their multitudes of rapids and falls, yielding an abundance of water-power.

Roughly, the State is geographically divided into three parts. The western third of the State is mountainous, being the continuation of the northern range of the Appalachians, which are the Green Mountains in Vermont and become the Berkshires of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and being also the continuation of the White Mountain range southward from New Hampshire. These two systems of mountains are divided into two distinct parts by the Connecticut River.

The western half of this third section is by far the higher, being about 1600 feet in elevation, while the eastern half is under 1,000 feet. All the principal mountains of the State are in the western section. Among them are Greylock, 3535 feet; Mt. Everett, 2624 feet; East Mountain, 2660 feet; Spruce Hill, 2588 feet; and Mt. Race, 2395 feet.

The chief peak of the eastern half of this section is Wachusett, 2108 feet.

These western highlands are, for the most part, cut by very deep and narrow valleys. The Deerfield Valley, for example, although but a mile wide, is a thousand feet deep. In the eastern section of the highlands, the valleys are shallower and wider and form better farming country than those to the west. The Connecticut River,

flowing as it does down a belt of weak sandstone, walled in by harder rocks, has cut a wide and very fertile valley which produces crops of immense value. At the northern border of the State, the Connecticut Valley is three miles wide and 200 feet above sea level; at the southern border it is twenty miles wide and about one hundred feet above sea level. Through the valley, which is of soft clay and sand, the river has cut its winding way, forming many terraces, and producing a valley of great beauty, particularly near its southern end, where sheets of lava have protruded through the sandstone. These sheets slope gently to the east but descend in steep bluffs to the west right down to the river. Of them, Mt. Tom, 1214 feet, and Mt. Holyoke, 954 feet, are striking bluffs, dominating the valley for miles.

The second division of the State extends eastward from about Worcester to the Atlantic in all except the south-east corner of the State. This division is the true Piedmont belt, and is a rolling, hilly area with some fertile land in the valleys. It is the industrial region of the State and culminates in Boston, which, ringed about its Bay, has gathered to itself nearly two thirds of the State's population and nearly all its wealth. Everything centers upon Boston, not only for Massachusetts, but for all New England.

The third division is the low and sandy area running from the Blue Hills south and east through Plymouth out to the tip of Cape Cod. It is mostly a glacial moraine and plains of gravel and sand, with sand dunes common along the Cape's end.

In its coast line, the State has its proudest feature. Beginning at the New Hampshire border, the wave-built sandy beaches of Salisbury and Plum Island are backed by great salt marshes from two to twelve miles deep, and threaded by tidal creeks.

The sands are broken sharply by the bold rocks of Cape Anne, which thrust grimly out into the Atlantic and breast the full power of wave and storm. From the Cape's chief town, Gloucester, southward to Lynn, the shore continues bold and rocky, diversified by many coves and cliffs upon which, numbers of summer residences have been built.

At Lynn, from which the rocky spur of Nahant thrusts out, the sand begins once more, sand which, studded with drumlins, forms the guardian arms of Boston Harbor. Winthrop and Nantasket form the two hands of the encircling arms and, while they were once chains of islands, wave action has made them into peninsulas by connecting all the islands with beaches, like beads upon a string. Behind these beaches are more salt marshes.

At Boston the hills of rock bend back in a bow to form a



THE CONNECTICUT RIVER AT SPRINGFIELD
Viewed from the west shore

basin which the city fills, and, though the bow does reach the shore again south of Boston at Quincy and Hingham and Cohasset, the rocks soon bear away to the westward permanently, and from Scituate on the south the shore is mostly long reaches of sand bars enclosing salt marshes, until Plymouth is reached.

Hills of sand and glacial debris march down to the sea from Plymouth south for a space, although, as at Manomet, the Atlantic is doing its best to devour the hills and reduce them to the common level.

The Cape, which is the only local name for Cape Cod, thrusts out into the sea like the curved tusk of an elephant. For the most part the ocean has cut its soft sands into a long, nearly straight, sandy cliff of no great general height. Here and there, however, irregularities in the shape of the Cape have caused long miles of sand bars to form, and behind them great expanses of salt marshes have formed, some of which have been re-claimed by building dykes and make fertile farming land.

Two large islands lie off the Cape, formed by the same glacial action that built the Cape. These two, Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, are both low and sandy. Especially on the sides exposed to storms, they have been eaten away until their shore lines are nearly straight and smooth, without any character, save for Gay Head, on the western tip of the Vineyard, where a great cliff has been formed by the waves eating into a hill of soft and colored sands. This cliff, or bluff, as it is often called, is a striking spectacle in certain lights and glows red and brown and orange at all times.

A string of islands, all small and unimportant, runs down from the south-western shoulder of the Cape. Known as the Elizabeth Islands, they are protected from storms by Nantucket and the Vineyard and so have escaped being chewed into the nothingness which would have otherwise long have been their fate.

Owing to the soft structure of the Cape and the Islands, and the vigorous attacks the Atlantic is constantly making upon their shores, considerable concern is being exhibited recently in their ultimate fate. Engineers have stated that the ocean will destroy them in a few thousand years; but, probably, as other engineers have pointed out, the building of sea walls and the planting of ground covers will go far to prevent the soil from being washed away as rapidly as it has been in the past.

The Cape is distinguished the world over not only as a menace to navigation and as the home of the "finest merchant officers in the world" but also for its canal, recently completed and now being

widened. The canal permits large ships to sail from New York to Boston through Buzzards Bay and Cape Cod Bay right into Boston Bay without the necessity of making the hazardous trip around the shoal-edged Cape. The canal thus not only shortens the voyage many hours, but also very greatly reduces the dangers of navigation in Nantucket and Vineyard Sounds, places which have claimed the lives of more ships in the last hundred years than any comparable waters in the world.

Obviously, through its diversification, Massachusetts is not geographically situated or composed to support a very dense population, but in its very multiformity it offers a wide scope of opportunity not only to different forms of agriculture but to manufacturing, business, and commerce. In fact, the physical form of Massachusetts has played a very large share in the State's history, determining the channels in which her inhabitants have expressed their energies and won wealth for themselves and fame for the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER III

Climate

Whenever anyone writes about the weather, it is inevitable as well as conventional and desirable, to begin by saying, "As Mark Twain once said, 'Everyone is always talking about the weather but no one does anything about it'." And it is equally proper to go on writing of the importance of the weather in industry, agriculture, health and all other human activities.

Then, if you are writing propaganda to sell weather, as is the business of California and Florida, you may go on to become lyrical about the particular species of climate you are advertising.

Massachusetts, as is the case with most of her circumstances, has no need of hiring poets to praise her weather, nor does the state need a Mark Twain to criticise it; for, whatever may be the commonwealth's deficiency in some things, so far as the weather is concerned, her personal brand is just about perfect. Perfect, of course, in the sense that it has plenty of variety to sustain interest in life, plenty of enthusiasm to stimulate her citizens to activity, and yet in all things a mildness which approaches the happy medium.

Dr. George A. Loveland, recently retired from the Boston office of the United States Weather Bureau, after a life-time of service in Weather Bureau stations in most parts of the nation, thinks so much of the climate of Massachusetts that he purchased a farm in this State and has settled down to enjoy his retirement in what he considers the best climate in the country.

"Massachusetts," he says, "has a very desirable climate. It is never as hot in the summer or as cold in the winter as the Middle West. It has an adequate supply of moisture, evenly distributed, and thus again has an advantage over the extensive arid or semi-arid West. The days with sunshine, too, are in a large majority over those that are entirely cloudy . . . The climate . . . is healthful and agreeable and well suited to the energies and activities of our people."

Unfortunately, to prove these statements of Dr. Loveland's, it is necessary to wade through pages of figures—for Dr. Loveland bases

his ideas upon the sixty years in which the Weather Bureau has been measuring and recording the weather in Boston. But the figures are weather figures and thus, as such, are certainly not as dry or as cold as some statistics are.

The Doctor's figures are for Boston. For the state, however, these figures are adequately representative because, while areas of the state away from the salt water may be a little colder in winter, and a little drier and warmer in summer, the difference is so slight that it is negligible.

The most important weather element, in so far as it affects comfort, is temperature. The average annual temperature is 49.6 degrees—a figure right square in the middle of the temperature range of 45-55 which anthropologists and other scientists consider to be the "optimum temperature for the efficient functioning of the so-called Nordic races."

Even more remarkable, as far as comfort is concerned, is the fact that the temperature does not fluctuate wildly between summer and winter. January is the coldest month—its average is 27.9; July is the hottest month; its average is 71.7. Seasonal temperatures are even more pleasing; the average winter temperature is 33.4—almost two degrees above freezing; the average summer temperature is 72 degrees, precisely the temperature which engineers maintain in modern office buildings and institutions as the most healthful.

Next to our warmer winters and our cooler summers, compared, that is, with the rest of the country, Massachusetts's precipitation is most agreeable—by precipitation, the weather men mean rain plus the equivalent in rain of snow and hail and sleet.

Massachusetts's precipitation is notable in two ways. First, it is adequate for agriculture and yet not too abundant. A 115 year record puts the annual average for Boston at 43.51 inches; the Weather Bureau's 62 year record puts the average at 41.19 inches. Second is the remarkable evenness with which the rain is distributed. There is no dry and wet season unpleasantness about Boston; the rain-fall is evenly distributed throughout the year. For example, June, the driest month, has the average of 3.14 inches; August, the wettest month, has the average of 4.01 inches—just the difference of a good smart shower.

Humidity is also very important to comfort. Humidity is simply the measurement of the amount of moisture in the air in comparison with the amount that the air would hold if it were saturated. If there is not enough humidity, humans feel uncomfortable; almost as much so as they do if there is too much humidity. For ordinary activity, a minimum humidity should be some 50 percent, while any



DANVERS—REBECCA NOURSE HOUSE
Pine Street, built 1636-37

percentage over 80 is also unpleasant. Boston's average humidity is 61 percent—once again just what it ought to be. In parts of America, the humidity is but 28 percent while in others it runs to 76 percent.

In the amount of its sunshine, Boston is also blessed; while normally some rain or snow falls once during every three days, there are but 129 days in the average year in which the sun fails to shine. The sun does shine completely 118 days and, on the 118 other days, manages to shine at least an hour and maintains an average of five hours.

Probably, in its winds—which means the energy of its storms—Boston is most fortunate of all. Boston has never had a tornado or a hurricane or, compared with what most of the rest of the world suffers, any really great storm. The greatest wind recorded in 63 years came December 26, 1934, when 60 miles an hour was touched in a brief gust. Most of the time, the wind blows just enough to make itself pleasant; the average velocity is ten miles an hour; from nine miles an hour in July to 12 miles in March.

In winter, the wind does not matter but in the summer it does matter considerably for comfort, and the steady nine mile winds of July and August, the warmer months, go a long way towards making the occasional "hot-waves" unimportant when compared with the days after days of better than 100 degree temperatures in the Middle West.

"Hot-waves" and "cold-waves" are things that comprise the climaxes of the weather. When, in Massachusetts, the temperature passes 90, a hot wave is said to be present. In winter, a temperature below zero indicates the presence of a cold wave. Yet, for 63 years, Boston averages but nine days a year with temperatures 90 or above, and but three days a year when the mercury sinks down to or below zero.

Thunderstorms are disturbing to many folks and Massachusetts is sometimes reported to have a great many such storms during the warmer months. The State does have thunderstorms. But, on the average, we have less than half as many as the majority of the States. Normally, Boston has 18 thunderstorms a year. In contrast, Lincoln, Neb., has 46, while other Inland, Gulf Coast and Lake States have them almost every other day all summer.

Thus, Massachusetts is clearly shown to have both a healthful and comfortable climate. But the state has also a further delightful characteristic in that its seasons change very slowly. They ebb and flow almost imperceptibly, growing colder in the autumn very slowly day by day and warming up with equal moderateness in the spring. Here are no sudden changes from one season to the next.

Some folks think that the spring is the best season of the year

here, and June the best month. Certainly June, mild, green, fresh and sunny is a delightful month—but the fact is, the entire summer, with but brief interruptions which only serve to point the fact, is one sweet June three months long.

Other folks, particularly tourists, find the autumn the State's most delightful season. The flaming colors of maple, oak, ash and birch trees, the magnificent brilliance of the sunsets, the silver frosts and the amethyst haze of Indian summer days with night mellow with moonlight, do combine into an exquisite perfection. But, while of course winter does have drifted snow and bitter winds, the cold spells do not last long and even in January or February, let alone March, there come days when coats are a burden and the sun floods down warmth out of a sky as brightly blue as ever October owned.

All of this, the slow shifting of the seasons, the cooler summers and the warmer winters, the even distribution of rainfall and the absence of great variations in the temperature—all these delightful characteristics of Massachusetts weather are due largely to the proximity of the Atlantic. The salt water acts as a balance wheel; it slows down ferocious storms as they arrive and it irons out all inequalities in the temperature sooner or later.

While the cod-fish is the symbol of the State, a better choice might be the East Wind—the breath of the Atlantic which controls the climate and makes the State the good place to live in which it is.

The appended table summarizes some seventy odd years of weather at Boston. It is the official United States Weather Bureau summary.

COMPARATIVE DATA AND EXTREMES

Month	Temperature				Precipitation				Relative humidity per cent		Sunshine		Wind					Average number of days															
	Average daily maximum	Average daily minimum	Normal	Absolute highest	Year	Absolute lowest	Year	Normal	Greatest in 24 hours	Year	Greatest snowfall	Average snowfall	in 24 hours	Year	8 a. m.	Noon—local time	8 p. m.	Total hours	Per cent	Average hourly velocity	Prevailing direction	Highest velocity	Direction highest velocity	Year	Clear	Partly cloudy	Cloudy	Rain .01 or more	Snow (trace or more)	Thunderstorms	Dense fog	Max. temp. 90° or above	Minimum temp. 32° or below	Minimum temp. 0° or below
Jan.....	36.1	20.4	27.9	70	1876	—13	1882	3.61	3.25	1881	11.7	14.7	1897	72	63	70	142	49	11.2	w.	50	nc.	1886	9	9	13	12	11	2	—	0	26	—
Feb.....	36.3	20.6	28.8	68	1930	—11	1896	3.37	4.45	1886	12.5	16.0	1921	71	61	66	168	58	11.5	w.	47	c.	1880	10	8	10	10	10	—	—	0	24	—
March.....	44.0	28.5	35.6	83	1921	—8	1872	3.57	3.04	1877	7.6	12.0	1892	70	58	68	213	57	11.7	nw.	56	s.	1877	10	9	12	12	7	—	—	0	19	—
April.....	54.5	38.3	46.4	89	1927	11	1874	3.34	3.19	1921	2.3	9.1	1917	69	57	68	229	58	10.9	w.	47	nc.	1891	9	10	11	11	3	—	—	0	4	—
May.....	65.7	48.7	57.1	97	1880	31	1882	3.18	3.31	1920	T.	0	.....	70	61	69	269	59	10.0	sw.	38	c.	1893	9	12	10	11	0	—	—	0	0	—
June.....	75.3	57.8	66.5	100	1925	42	1884	2.89	5.35	1875	0	0	.....	72	59	71	290	63	9.5	sw.	33	c.	1903	10	9	11	10	0	—	—	0	0	—
July.....	80.5	63.7	71.7	104	1911	46	1874	3.49	6.04	1921	0	0	.....	71	66	72	296	64	9.1	sw.	47	sw.	1879	9	13	9	10	0	—	—	0	0	—
August.....	77.8	62.0	69.9	98	1917	47	1894	3.62	4.99	1879	0	0	.....	76	61	77	269	63	8.8	sw.	38	s.	1893	11	11	9	9	0	—	—	0	0	—
Sept.....	71.6	55.6	63.2	102	1881	34	1914	3.14	5.63	1933	0	0	.....	77	62	75	232	62	9.3	sw.	47	n.	1888	12	9	9	9	0	—	—	0	0	—
October.....	61.4	45.5	53.6	90	1881	25	1879	3.15	4.92	1895	T.	0.5	1884	75	58	72	197	56	10.0	w.	46	nw.	1933	11	10	10	9	3	—	—	0	10	—
Nov.....	49.7	35.2	42.0	78	1931	—2	1875	3.33	5.43	1876	1.6	12.0	1898	73	65	71	141	48	10.8	w.	51	w.	1875	9	9	12	10	8	—	—	0	10	—
Dec.....	39.3	25.0	32.5	69	1912	—17	1933	3.45	2.87	1888	8.1	12.3	1909	74	62	69	136	48	11.0	w.	60	nw.	1934	9	9	13	11	8	—	—	0	22	—
Year.....	57.7	41.8	49.6	104	1911	—17	1933	41.14	6.04	1921	43.8	16.0	1921	73	61	71	2584	57	10.3	w.	60	nw.	1934	118	118	129	125	42	18	14	9	106	3

§ Less than 1.

CHAPTER IV

The Indians

When the first settlers arrived in Massachusetts, they found the Indian inhabitants in a very weak and disorganized condition, for beginning probably about 1616, a frightful pestilence, the nature of which is unknown, exterminated them in great numbers. Whole villages were deserted, and early writers of the period report that when the disease struck a village, the few who escaped the sickness fled in panic, leaving the dead and dying where they fell.

It is estimated that up to this period the present area of Massachusetts was, for Indians, thickly settled. By means of annual burnings, large areas were kept clear of forests and the entire territory was rigidly divided, primarily among the several tribes, and secondarily among families. While no modern Registry of Deeds existed to record titles, yet the Indians knew exactly their holdings and commonly respected property rights as carefully as if police and courts and jails were in existence to enforce justice.

Although estimates conflict, it seems probable that, by 1620, no more than 7,000 Indians were left alive in the territory covered by the present Bay State. These, the colonists found, were not united in a single body—which might have made their expulsion and the confiscation of their lands much more bloody and difficult than it was—but were divided into seven chief tribes, who were not able to overcome their differences and unite against the White Peril.

The Massachusetts tribe occupied the area now covered by Metropolitan Boston, and extended northward as far as Salem, westward nearly forty miles, and southward to the Rhode Island line, from whence their territory came back to the Atlantic just north of Plymouth.

This tribe was practically wiped out by the pestilence. Once large in numbers, and powerful fighters, less than 500 of them remained when the Puritans settled Boston and they were swiftly exterminated.

The Wampanoags confronted the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Their territory ran with that of the Massachusetts' southern boundary, extended over into the present Rhode Island, and southward to about

the present site of the Cape Cod Canal. Luckily for the Pilgrims, the first treaty they made with the Wampanoag chief, Massasoit, was scrupulously respected until the "Good Indian" died in 1662. By that time the settlers were both numerous and greedy, and when King Philip, whose real name was Metaconet, took up arms against them, the settlers set about exterminating the Wampanoags in earnest. The war, however, proved to be bloody, for Philip was an able leader, and he resisted the guns of the Englishmen for two years. But, as could not otherwise have eventuated, the Indians were defeated, and practically exterminated like vermin. Survivors fled into Rhode Island or joined the so-called Christian Indians on the Cape.

These Christian Indians composed the third tribe, the Nausetts. In military matters, they were under the dominion of the Wampanoags, but, coming into contact with white fishermen and explorers all along their territory on Cape Cod and the Islands, they never were of importance. They remained friendly to the white settlers, save for a few minor skirmishes, and were early whitewashed with Christianity. They gradually decreased in numbers through the years, although a few are still surviving in as pure-blooded a condition as could be expected. Mashpee on the Cape is today mostly Indian, and there is another reasonably flourishing Indian group at Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard.

Cape Anne and the entire north-east quarter of the State was inhabited by a fourth tribe, the Penacooks, who also occupied most of New Hampshire and much of Southern Maine. They were really distinct from the other Massachusetts Indians and belonged to the Abanaki of Maine and Canada. For the greater part of the Indian troubles, most of them remained friendly to the whites, but they were doomed to be destroyed as settlement pushed northward along the Merrimack, and so, after troubles culminating in 1676, they bodily abandoned their homes and moved northward into Maine and Canada.

The south-central part of the State was the home of the Nipmuc tribe. They were of little importance when the settlers came, being subject to the several tribes surrounding them. They joined in Philip's war against the whites, but when Philip was killed they fled up into Canada or westward to the Algonquins.

The western half of the State was divided between two tribes. The first of these was the Pocomucs or Pocotucs, who ruled all the Indians of the Connecticut Valley. They joined Philip with enthusiasm and enjoyed a holiday in killing settlers, but when the war ended, they too fled to the Hudson or north into Canada.

The seventh tribe was the Mohigans or Mohicans. They occupied both banks of the Hudson in New York and extended over into Massa-

chusetts along the Berkshires. As settlers crowded in upon them, they sold out and migrated westward, largely into Pennsylvania.

In appearance, the Massachusetts Indians were of noble stature, and had clean-cut regular features. The first settlers respected the men as strong, brave fighters, and as honorable "friends"—although this happy condition inevitably came to an early end as the greed of settlers for land and more land resulted in hostilities breaking out. But at no time does there seem to have been any hatred of the Indians as such, such as accompanied the extermination of the Western tribes in the next century.

The Indians were fighting to save their homes, and although the settlers shot as straight as they could, and the Indians made their attacks with characteristic savagery, that was only to be expected. For the most part, mutual respect existed between the combatants; although, at the end, when the Indians were defeated, the settlers exacted a bloody and horrible payment for the earlier massacres the Indians accomplished.

With the Indian women, some of the settlers entered into close relations. Writers describe the squaws as being "handsome and well-formed, well-mannered and continent."

Feathers were not generally worn to any degree, as, for example, the war bonnets of the Sioux. Males wore their hair long until manhood, and then cut it off in various ways so that a "scalp lock" remained; its shape, size and position probably serving to distinguish one tribe from another.

For adornment, both sexes were fond of tattooing and also of decorating themselves with various scars formed by burning the flesh with hot irons.

Face painting was also common to both sexes, although really serious painting and powdering was reserved to the men, probably as military, social, and religious rites. Black was commonly obtained from the ashes of burnt wood, and was the usual mode of decoration for war. Red was the commonest color with black, and was made from various vegetable dyes and also from red earth, probably traded for from outside sources of supply. White, blue, and yellow were also used; the color depending upon the occasion which it was to adorn.

The women used black for mourning and seem to have most generally chosen blue upon their cheeks, instead of the rouge the girls now prefer.

For clothing, a wide latitude was common. Indoors, as a rule, nothing at all was worn, and it was perfectly proper in the summer to go about the day's work innocent of any apparel. For most of the day's business, however, both men and women wore a breech garment

made of various animal furs, either with the hair remaining or else tanned away.

In hunting, the men commonly added leather leggings to protect their shins from the brush. These were frequently painted with red and blue designs.

Both men and women wore the typical Indian moccasins, the style of which seems to have varied with the tribe. Women sometimes also wore leggings, fastening them to their breech clout with leather straps.

In winter weather, a robe made of fur was worn by both sexes. Raccoon pelts were the most highly valued for mantles but for ordinary wear, moose hide, tanned to a remarkable whiteness, was the usual thing. Deer hides were also used. Hung about the shoulders, these robes were belted in at the waist and were usually long enough to trail upon the ground.

The method of wearing them left one arm, usually the right, bare. In coldest weather, an extra fur was wrapped around this arm to protect it. This fur was usually that of the wild cat and was worn tightly wrapped about the arm, not like a fur neck piece. Also, in zero spells, the Indians would wrap additional furs about their heads and shoulders for extra warmth.

Physically, although modern standards were not in vogue, the Indians were reported to be clean about their persons. They bathed freely and brushed their teeth every morning with a brush made by chewing the end of a twig until the end was frayed. The men never had to shave, not because they were without a beard of a sparse nature, but because each hair was plucked out as it appeared.

Tradition to the contrary, Massachusetts Indians did not live in tepees. Their houses were of two sorts, the long house and the round house.

The long house was rectangular in shape, and was about 25 feet wide and as long as was necessary to house the several families which built it and shared it. It was the usual winter abode, for in it each family kept a fire burning and thus maintained some degree of warmth constantly. Some of these long houses are said to have been as much as a hundred feet in length. They were the first tenements in America, although horizontal instead of vertical.

The long houses were built by setting up parallel walls of framework and then uniting them overhead by bent poles, giving the round arch form to the cross section of the dwelling. The poles and cross members were securely lashed together and the whole covered, not with skins, as tradition indicates, but with great sheets of bark. Birch was the best, it was slipped off in the spring when the sap was running, in

great sections, and then dried on a flat foundation under pressure so that smooth, stout sheets of material resulted.

The round houses were much smaller, and were used in the summer when the season made fire unnecessary and the busy lives of the Indians made crowding undesirable. These round houses were occupied as a rule by one, or at the most, two families. The framework was hemispherical, made by erecting a ring of poles in the ground and then bending over the tips and lashing them together. Bark covering was used, although mats woven of grasses and other materials were commonly employed. These mats were also used for floor coverings,



HANNAH DUSTIN MONUMENT, HAVERHILL, MASSACHUSETTS

particularly in the winter, when the bare ground must have been uncomfortable.

The round houses had two doors, the windward one being closed to keep out the weather. The long houses had as many doors as families and they were closed with mats or skins hung hinge-fashion.

Hearths for the fires were built of field stone right upon the dirt floor and a hole in the roof directly above enabled some of the smoke to find its way out eventually. Bedding was of mats and skins, and bedsteads were made by erecting a framework of poles, the space inside being filled with a mattress of hemlock twigs covered with more mats.

Both sexes had their duties sharply defined. For the men, the first job was protecting the family and the tribe. Next was the weary

business of hunting and fishing, the making of utensils, bows, arrows, and canoes, and the clearing of land for farming. The women cared for the houses and the children, made mats and boxes, the coverings for the lodges, gathered seeds, roots, and berries, and sowed and cultivated the gardens.

Hunting was the chief source of food supply, supplemented by the produce of the gardens. Each family had its own patch of a "kitchen garden," in which they grew corn, tobacco, beans, squash, pumpkins and artichokes. Each family probably cultivated from a half to a whole acre, and considering the tools they had to work with, the labor must have been very great.

The fields were commonly shifted about as the soil became exhausted. A virgin piece of woodland would be selected, brush be piled about the trees, and the area set on fire. When the trees were consumed, corn would be planted among the stumps for several years until the stumps and roots rotted away. Then the other crops were grown. Thus the Indians not only rotated their crops but gained excellent fertilizer from the wood ashes and the rotting tree stumps and roots. For direct fertilizing also, the Indians commonly buried a fish or two in each hill of corn—an admirable practice, which resulted in a rich harvest, usually as much as forty bushels of corn to the acre.

The Indian men were expert hunters, trappers and fishermen—as they had to be or starve. Fish were caught in nets, shot with arrows, trapped in weirs or basket traps, or caught with a hook and line, the hook being made from a length of wood to which a sharp piece of bone was fastened so as to make a sharp V.

Deer were not only hunted with bow and arrow but driven into traps where they were slaughtered. Bears and other animals were caught in traps. These traps were usually built as near to the village as possible so as to save the labor of transporting the meat. This meat was preserved for long periods by cutting it into strips and drying it over a fire. Shell-fish, even lobsters, clams, and oysters were similarly preserved. Fish were split, and dried in the sun, just as cod fish are dried today all along the northern coast.

The chief weapon of the Indian was the bow and arrow. Bows were magnificently and beautifully made of walnut and ash, and strung with a deftly twisted cord of moose sinew. Arrows were made of straight elder shoots, and headed with stone points, usually marble or quartz. Copper and brass were eagerly substituted as soon as the metals were available. Pieces of antlers, spines of horse-shoe crabs, splinters of bone, and other materials were also used for heads.

The arrows were feathered mostly with eagle feathers, although

these being rare, many arrow-makers were compelled to use turkey feathers.

Thick pieces of bark were used for shields. War clubs were made from the lower sections of small trees; the thickened portion where the roots join the stem being made into the head of the club, frequently ball-shaped. The proverbial tomahawk was simply a strip of hard wood some two feet long. At one end a slot was cut, like a mortise, and into this a sharpened stone was wedged so as to make an axe-like weapon.

For transportation, the Indians used their backs, if no streams were available. But if water was at hand they always used it. Their best craft was the birch bark canoe. The framework was of cedar poles lashed into shape, the bark covering sewed on with root-fibres and the holes made tight with spruce gum. Other canoes were simply dug-outs made from a pine or chestnut log, hollowed out by the use of fire and scraping-stones, and pointed, more or less, at both ends. The bark canoe was a fairy craft, light and agile and capable of navigating in a few inches of water. The dug-outs were clumsy and heavy and needed plenty of water in which to navigate.

Fire was made by striking a spark from two stones upon bark tinder, either two lumps of iron pyrites or a lump of iron and a flint being used. Drills were used, but the stones were preferred as they could easily be carried about in a pouch.

For utensils about the home, the Indians carved bowls and spoons out of wood, a practice which the first settlers adopted. Baskets, bags, and boxes were made in great numbers from splints, riven from a birch block, or of reeds, rushes, or various barks. These were not only wonderfully decorated with vegetable dyes but were stoutly constructed. For example, a birch bark basket has been recorded which held three gallons of water.

Some clay and pottery vessels were used although they were not of good quality, and were rapidly broken in use. Few have been preserved. As soon as the settlers came, the Indians eagerly traded costly skins for cheap iron and brass kettles, which they esteemed as being marvelous.

For exchange, in addition to the common system of barter, the Indians employed shell beads of spherical and disc shapes. These were woven into wampum which had value in proportion to its size, workmanship and quality of shell. The quahaug, a species of clam, provided most of the raw material; the purple "eye" of its shell being the most valuable portion. The little periwinkle shell was also used for the white form of wampum.

Besides being used for money, wampum was extensively used for

adornment, much as savage tribes in the East today use gold coins for jewelry. It was also used to record treaties and historical events, the designs into which the beads were woven relating particulars of agreements or events of importance.

Thus, when the settlers came, they found a well-established Indian nation inhabiting the ground. Had the pestilence spared them, the early history of Massachusetts might have been very different, for vigorous, untroubled Indians could doubtless have treated the white invaders in a very different fashion than they were constrained to do.

CHAPTER V

Discovery and Early Settlements

Tradition has it that the New England coast was first visited and settled by the Northmen; the name given to sea rovers of Scandinavian origin who, in 787 ravaged the coasts of Britain and by 832 had made themselves masters of a good share of France and then spent the next few centuries, until their blood was diluted, in hewing out their individual fortunes in Italy, Egypt, Constantinople and various other nations until, in 1066, their triumphs culminated in the conquest of England under William.

Beyond all question, the Northmen, pirates and all, were magnificent sea-men. In their dragon ships they did sail the seas boldly and with a magnificent disdain of hardship and peril. It seems clear that the Northmen discovered Iceland in 860 and, in 890, Greenland; colonizing both places. Then, in 1002, almost 500 years before Columbus sailed from Spain, according to the Icelandic sagas, a Norwegian vessel, variously described as being under the command of Leif or Leif Ericson (the latter name being as common for the times as Johnson today) sailed from Iceland to visit the Greenland settlement on a trading voyage. A north-east gale, raging for days, drove the ship far to the south and, after many days, the wee vessel raised the grim crags of Labrador out of the green Arctic waters.

Instead of putting about and sailing back north, the story relates that Captain Leif and his stout men coasted southward until they came to a fair and pleasant land, covered with noble forests and rich with purple grapes. Some interpreters of the sagas think it possible that this land was somewhere near the site of Boston. When Leif returned to Iceland and Norway, his tales excited great admiration, and, so it is said, other adventurous voyages were made to Vineland—the land of the purple grapes—on which voyages the southward explorations were extended around Cape Cod and up into Narragansett Bay. There, according to the statements made by Bishop Thorlack, the great historian of Iceland, a settlement may have been made on the shores of Mt. Hope Bay.

For some unrecorded reason, possibly the hostility of the Indians might have discouraged even the Northmen, dependent as they were upon swords instead of powder and shot, the settlement did not prosper and it was abandoned. However, so the worthy Bishop asserts, one Gudrida, wife of a sea-king, the name given to the Vikings, during her residence at Mt. Hope, gave birth to a son, whom she named Snorre. If this is correct, then Snorre was the first white American. Perhaps there was such an ancestor, for both the good Bishop and the great Danish sculptor, Bertel Thorwaldsen, claimed this first American as their progenitor.

Besides the records in the Icelandic sagas, there has been an attempt made to prove that the Northmen settled in Rhode Island by alleging that a mysterious stone tower, now standing in Newport, was actually built 900 years ago by the Northmen. This Round Tower is built of unhewn stone held together with oyster-shell lime. It is a cylinder resting upon eight round columns and is twenty three feet in diameter and twenty four feet high. Originally, or at some time or other, it seems to have been covered with some sort of stucco.

Who built the tower cannot be discovered. That the Northmen built it, seems improbable however, for it was hardly a structure that would have been of service to a new colony. More recent opinion is that the structure was reared by an early English settler who at least planned to erect a sturdy wind-mill to grind the neighborhood's corn. However, the Round Tower is a mystery and probably will forever remain such.

The sagas did not include latitude and longitude or even maps in their text and thus there is no actual concrete evidence that the Northmen did discover New England. That they visited America, seems probable, for it would be natural enough for a ship voyaging from Iceland to Greenland to be blown off her course to the south and east.

Similarly, the Welsh legend that one of their mythical heroes likewise visited the New World cannot be denied—but neither can it be proved.

We can only conclude that it is reasonable to think that voyages were made to the New World during the darkness of the Middle Ages, but by whom and where and when and how can be answered only by the tales in the legends of sea-faring nations.

While Spain was busy developing the voyages of Columbus, and Portugal the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan and her other explorers, the British found it more profitable to exploit the fruits

the two Iberian nations had gathered and essayed to bring home than they did to discover territory of themselves.

Thus the northern coast of America and New England in particular was long neglected. Undoubtedly, the hardy fishermen of England and France knew that there was "a sweet land and fair" in existence but they voyaged to the coast only for fishing and cared not the least for explorations.

So, it was not until 1602, when Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from England on a trading voyage to the New World, that New England was seriously attended to. Gosnold hardly discovered the land but he did bring it to the attention of London and thus initiated its settlement.

Gosnold made a landfall on the New England coast probably somewhere about Plum Island and Newburyport. Missing the river-harbor there, he sailed southward in search of a good roadstead and finally dropped his hook somewhere along the sands of Cape Cod—which, incidentally, he first officially named such.

Making a desultory landing, Gosnold sailed out around the Cape and, coasting west again, passed Nantucket and the Vineyard and entered Buzzards Bay where he was so delighted with the small group of islands therein that he named them the Elizabeth Islands in honor of his sovereign.

In fact, so charming did Gosnold discover the Islands to be, a charm which modern summer residents appreciate today, that he determined to found a settlement on one of them, Cuttyhunk,—he built a fort and persuaded a small group of men to settle down and cultivate the land until he made a second voyage a year later.

In the meantime, he kept his crew busy trading with the Indians for furs and for the bark of the sassafras tree, a medicinal product very much in demand at the time and consequently valuable. By the time his lading was completed, however, his sailor-settlers had discovered that they were not so enthusiastic as they had been. So, the settlement idea was abandoned and the entire company sailed home, leaving a fragrant wake behind them.

Gosnold's success encouraged further trading voyages to New England and he shortly induced two merchants to send two ships for furs and sassafras. Captain Martin Pring, in command, lifted his anchors April 10th, 1603, and making a pleasant passage, arrived in the mouth of the Penobscot. Failing to discover sassafras so far north—there was no Gray's *Manual of Botany* to guide him—he visited in turn the harbors of Kennebunkport, York and Portsmouth.

Still being only partially successful, he continued coasting southward until he too came into Nantucket Sound and made his headquarters on the Vineyard. There he had his sassafras and his furs and in six months was back in England.

Naturally, a second successful voyage attracted attention, and in 1605 the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Southampton, the latter the patron of Shakespeare, sent Captain George Weymouth to New England. Weymouth had already explored Labrador and knew his coast



THATCHED FRAME HOUSE OF MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS

The most common type of residence of the first settlers

Photo by Lantz

fairly well. He visited the Maine coast and sailed up the St. George's River. This voyage was chiefly remarkable in that he carried home with him five Maine Indians, three of whom he presented to Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Plymouth.

While these trading voyages were developing, the politicians in London had not been idle and petitioned King James I until, in 1606, that Scot granted two companies of "adventurers" twelve degrees of latitude on the American coast from about Halifax to Virginia.

One of these companies was composed of peers of the realm who orbited chiefly about the capital. Thus they were known as the London

Company. The other company was of citizens chiefly of Bristol and Plymouth and they came to be known as the Plymouth Company. Their grant was divided roughly into two parts. The London adventurers had the southern part between 34 and 41 degrees of latitude. The Plymouth Company had between 38 and 45 degrees.

The Plymouth Company, headed by Sir John Popham, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, at once sent a ship to explore their territory. This ship was driven by bad weather down to the West Indies where the Spanish seized it. Sir John at once, at his own expense, sent out a second ship under Captain Martin Pring who shortly returned with glowing accounts of the lands.

At once a company of one hundred colonists was organized and sent out under George Popham as president and Raleigh Gilbert as admiral. With them, the colonists took two of the five Indians Weymouth had presented to Sir Ferdinando as guides and counsellors. In 1607, the colony landed on an island in the mouth of the Kennebec River, then called the Sagadahoc. The present Popham Beach commemorates this settlement.

A fort, a storehouse and several dwellings were hastily thrown up and one of the ships sailed back to England on December 5th, leaving behind forty five settlers. Disasters soon fell upon them. George Popham died. The storehouse was burned. Sir John Popham, home in England, also died and Raleigh Gilbert learned that he had fallen heir to an estate in England. Consequently, the colonists did not linger upon the island but sailed home at the first opportunity.

The same year, another essay to found a settlement in Nova Scotia met with similar disaster and the Plymouth Company gave up its attempts to found settlements. However, the fishing and trading with the Indians was flourishing and frequent voyages were made and other settlements, probably mere fishing stations, were occupied from time to time.

Undoubtedly, to put the best face possible upon their failures, the returning colonists made much of the severity of the winters, the barrenness of the rocky country and its inhospitable character. Thus enthusiasm was dampened and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had spent upwards of twenty thousand pounds in his endeavors to colonize, agreed with Captain John Mason, who had laid out an equal amount, that "it was advisable to give over their designs, and put up with their loss"—for the time being at least.

But then, in 1614, the Plymouth Company, were given a new lease on their colonizing life by the return to England of Captain John Smith. He, displeased with the way the London Company had

treated him in their service in Virginia, had undertaken a personal trading venture up along the New England coast. While his companions fished for profit, he with eight men, in a wee craft, followed the coast from the Penobscot down to Cape Cod. By trading as he explored, he amassed a small fortune in eleven thousand beaver skins, one hundred marten skins and one hundred otter skins. Returning to England he sold his furs at a tremendous profit.

With the foresight and sagacity characteristic of the stout-hearted man, he had employed himself during his voyage with making a map of the New England coast which, he, for the first time, named "New England." Hitherto, it had simply been known as the northern part of Virginia.

When the Plymouth Company heard of his success, they sought him out at London and promised him great rewards if he would forsake the London Company and enter their service. He agreed to do so, although the London Company, flouting the rights of the Plymouth adventurers, at once sent four ships to New England to trade with the Indians.

Meanwhile, the Plymouth Company had agreed to give Smith four ships with which to sail to New England; but, early in 1616, he had to leave with two, one a ship of two hundred tons; the other, a bark of but fifty.

Misfortune fell upon Smith immediately. Hardly had he taken his departure, than a storm came up and dismasted his ship and she became so unseaworthy that it was only with the greatest hardship that Plymouth was regained. There Smith had to exchange his two hundred ton ship for one of sixty.

On putting out once more, Smith was overhauled by a pirate. Rather than surrender, he resolved to sink his vessel beneath him. The pirate, surprised that the tiny bark did not yield to his overwhelming superiority of men and metal, called a parley and demanded to know who the dare-devil captain was. On learning it was Smith, the pirate ship sent up a cheer, for most of the sea-rovers had served at one time or another with Smith and all of them knew and respected the man, whom they forthwith embraced as a brother in spirit if not in fact.

Notwithstanding this good fortune, Smith soon suffered a final reverse of fate. The crew mutinied and refused to fight a French warship, which appeared and gave chase to them. Smith managed to escape from the Frenchman but the next morning awoke to find himself fairly in the middle of a fleet of Frenchmen.

Even Smith could not fight his way out of this so he backed his

yards and went aboard the French flag-ship to try and talk the admiral into giving him passage. He was arrested. His men were seized and impressed, being scattered about the fleet for safety. However Smith talked and talked and at last the French admiral gave Smith his freedom and restored his men, ship and goods.

Accordingly, the men were assembled and Smith's vessel turned back to him. Smith's men, however, were still mutinous; they did not want to go to New England, they wanted to go home. He ignored their protests, gave the order to make ready to sail westward and went back aboard the flag-ship to say adieu.

As he boarded the flag-ship, the French fleet observed a suspicious sail down to leeward and the fleet at once dashed after it. Seizing this heaven-sent opportunity, Smith's crew calmly sailed home, leaving Smith alone on the French flag-ship.

Of necessity, Smith cruised for two months with the Frenchmen. At last, in a storm, the fleet was broken up and Smith's vessel bore up for Rochelle. Finding that his captors were determined to justify his presence in their midst by making him a prisoner on some old charges that they raked up, he determined upon a characteristic stroke. As the ship, in a great storm, opened the port of Rochelle, Smith slipped overside in a skiff and, after twelve hours of misery and peril, was cast ashore upon an island from which he easily made his way to Rochelle. The ship he had fled from, however, went aground while entering the harbor, was broken up by the surf, and nearly everyone on board was drowned.

Smith at once complained to the French courts, through the British ambassador, and so the survivors of the wreck were locked up in jail upon escaping from death. Leaving his suit for damages to the direction of the ambassador, Smith, anger seething in his heart, dashed over to Plymouth where, as he anticipated, his mutineers had arrived and were busily engaged in destroying his character. Smith caused their arrest and punishment, but this did not further the fortunes of the Plymouth Company in the least.

Smith however did not give up hope. He was enamoured of New England and, if the Plymouth Company would not send him out, then he would find someone who would. So he set about a tour of England, painting a picture of the new land in the most glowing terms to every wealthy man he met. "He told them he should consider it unjust to himself, to his king . . . to offer any inducements to a further prosecution of these voyages of adventure if he was not satisfied of their profitable character. He pictured, in colors exalted by his own enthusiasm, the delights of the new land, where Nature

and liberty afforded those luxuries for nothing which in England were only obtainable at great cost. . . . 'Is it not a pretty sport' he asked, speaking of the fishing, 'to pull up twopence, sixpence and twelvence as fast as you can haul and shift a line? He is a very bad fisher who cannot take one, two or three hundred cod a day, which, dressed and dried, even if sold upon the coast at ten shillings the hundred, one half the price they will bring in England, both the colonist and the merchant may be well contented with their respective gains. And what sport yields a more pleasing content than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air, from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea?' "

Smith's missionary work was not without great and immediate effect. Since the London Company had (1609 & 1612) been granted a new and much more valuable patent, the Plymouth folk, fired by Smith's talking and writing, applied for a new and better one also. Considerable opposition was forthcoming from merchants and others interested in preserving the freedom of the New England waters, but they did not prevail; for on November 3rd, 1620, James I granted the Plymouth adventurers a most liberal patent.

To the forty members of the Company called the Council for New England, the royal grant gave a territory extending in breadth from the forty-eighth to the forty fourth degree of north latitude, in LENGTH FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC, for the "planting, ruling and ordering of New England in America." Thus were an unknown number of millions of square miles of virgin territory given to forty Englishmen by the scratch of the pen of a Scotch King. And it was a most definite grant, too, giving the forty "exclusive rights of jurisdiction, settlement and traffic."

But even so, the new grant, although tremendously important in the future, did not lead to the first permanent settlement of New England, for just a week after the King wrote his name on the parchment, a band of religious refugees arrived at Provincetown and New England was settled. Religion had accomplished the fact, where fishing, trading and money-making ambitions had failed.

CHAPTER VI

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The Pilgrims

The coming of James I to the throne of England was of tremendous consequence not only to Scotland and England but also to the potential State of Massachusetts, for he directly brought about conditions which led to the Pilgrims settling our Plymouth.

The Pilgrims were but a small and somewhat more radical group within the great body of English Puritans. The Pilgrims were without men or women of wealth, birth, position, learning, or distinction; the Puritans numbered many such amongst their followers. In essence, Puritanism was simply the pure distillate of the Protestant Reformation. In the beginning, they considered, as did all Protestants, that the Christian religion was not properly practiced; that its purity was sullied by the introduction of pagan ritual and pagan philosophy by the Church of Rome. When the Pope was expelled and the Church of England instituted, it might be thought that, whatever imperfections might linger, the main objective had been accomplished, and peace and harmony would prevail. But such was not the case. The Puritans found they had simply exchanged a distant Pope for a neighborhood bishop, and that the change had not given them what they desired above everything else, the right to interpret the Bible as they believed most adequate. So, in the course of time, the Puritans came to have particular practices and habits which were distinctly their own, and eventually they came to insist upon as rigid conformity amongst themselves to their principles as did the Church against which they were in protest.

Under Henry VIII and Elizabeth, particularly as Puritanism was not crystallized, the matter was of minor official importance. But, under bigoted Mary, the movement did attract considerable attention. However, by the time James ascended the throne in 1603, Puritanism was strong in both numbers and principles, and its leaders believed they had reason to hope for greater freedom under the new monarch, who was believed to be sincerely Protestant, and had earlier declared himself in sympathy with the English Puritans.

As he made his triumphal journey to London, he was met by seven hundred Puritans who "prayed for a redress from ecclesiastical grievances." James listened, but was so desirous of exhibiting to his new subjects his great powers as a controversialist, that instead of giving his assent upon the spot, as it seems he intended to do eventually, he appointed a council to be held in January, 1604, at Hampton Court, at which time and place he would discuss the question thoroughly.

But when the hopeful Puritans assembled, they found that James had been "reached," and was accordingly firmly determined to support the hierarchy of the Established Church as a necessary bulwark to the peace and safety of his realm. In fact, he admonished the Puritans to conform to the Church or he would "harry them out of the land."

However, the Puritans, who were influential folk, carried the matter to Parliament boldly asserting the right of every man to enjoy liberty of conscience. So pertinaciously did they demand a recognition of this freedom that the pedantic, fundamentally weak Stuart, began to fear and therefore to hate the stubborn Non-conformists. In this emotion, he was doubtless artfully encouraged by the regular clergy, who, with reason, feared the lessening of their power and glory through any increase in "the dangerous sects."

So, shortly, laws were passed which required all persons to conform to the Church of England. This harshness added to the strength of the Puritans and, harassed continually, particularly the ministers, they continued to walk boldly, sure that they were "walking in all ways which God had made known."

THE PILGRIMS

However, all bodies of Puritans were not content with this passive resistance. In particular, some fifty men and women in the little village of Scrooby, about fifty miles south of York, were "sore disturbed" at their persecutions. Being so few, their assembly was too small to be of importance nationally, but personally they considered themselves of tremendous importance. And such indeed they were, for they became the originators of the westward march of English folk into New England. They were the Pilgrims.

Possibly this came about because amongst them was a man, a leader, one William Brewster. He was a well-traveled man, knew the world as well as the farm, and was the outstanding man of the village.

He, in 1606, was instrumental in forming what became the Plymouth Church, which at that time changed from being a simple,

informal gathering, to an organized church, determined to face the King and the Lord Bishops, be the cost what it might. Had this been all, possibly the light would have flickered and died under the hostility it attracted; but two new leaders joined with Brewster—William Bradford, a mere lad in his 'teens, and John Robinson, a clergyman, who became the little flock's minister.

At first, persecution of the Pilgrims was merely local; it seems that brother Puritans turned on them, not because of their beliefs, but because they had seceded from the ranks of ordinary Puritanism, and thus shattered the forces with which the Protestants of Northern England were confronting the Catholic majority of the region.

However, in 1607, the ecclesiastical authority at York instituted an inquiry. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the leaders and several were jailed. This was not severe treatment at all; really the Church treated the "Separatists," or Pilgrims, throughout with remarkable consideration, considering the times.

But the congregation of Scrooby was highly indignant that their members should be so mistreated. They began to build up a feeling that England had become "unclean," that they could no longer be happy in a land "accursed by the Established Church"—"It was dangerous to remain in England any longer, for those who would worship God in all sincerity and purity, must guard themselves against the pollution and contamination of the Beast."

Thus, it became evident that emigration was the only solution for their difficulties; they believed this to be so not because they were affrighted at the threat of serious persecution (which they never suffered), but simply because the Church of England existed and as such was as dangerous to them as a leper.

Religious refugees had long been welcomed in Holland. There they found not only liberty and freedom to worship as they wished but also found it possible to make a living—an important point, you may be sure, for the poor folk of Scrooby. So, with their hatred of the Church and their desire to escape from its presence, by 1607 small parties began to drift across the Channel. Their property they converted into money; household goods and books, they carried with them.

Of course, it was illegal to leave England; the laws were strict against such desertion. But, by various means, the exodus continued until probably something over a hundred in number were across the narrow sea. Many were caught, arrested and then released with a warning. Probably, the officers of the law were as embarrassed as the Pilgrims were, for London considered them unimportant and

ordered their return to their respective homes each time a case was brought to the capital's attention. In Amsterdam, each new batch of Pilgrims was welcomed and a new and free church was established by 1608. At last they were free.

IN HOLLAND

However, all was not serene. Differences arose between the first comers and the later arrivals, and shortly the Scrooby band separated themselves from refugees from other parts of England, and withdrew to Leyden, in whose placid academic shades they settled down alone together. This removal occurred in the spring of 1609 and with the full approval and welcome of the Leyden magistrates.

Probably some two thousand persons in the years which followed joined Pastor Robinson and his Scrooby flock at Leyden. That they were determined to settle down is evident, for they bought houses and land and worked earnestly at their arts and crafts. Not only pious, they were exceedingly industrious, and enjoyed the full "approval and sympathy and respect" of their Dutch neighbors.

Still, they were not happy. As the years went by, they discovered that freedom was not everything. In the first place, they found it very difficult to make a satisfactory living, however "dilligent they were in their calling." Then too, the free and easy manners of the Hollanders were not pleasing to men and women as austere and professionally pious as were the Pilgrims. Also, being English of the soil, they clung tenaciously to their mother tongue and habits of life. Never, during their twelve years of residence, could they manage to feel at home. They were constantly strangers in a strange land, and well aware of it. More serious still was the growing problem of their children. Children are not like adults; they absorb the colors of their environment quickly and thoroughly. Thus, the horrified English Pilgrims found their sons and daughters growing not into English men and women but solid Dutch citizens.

And so the various reports of the wondrous opportunities in the new lands of America, which were filling the minds and wagging all the tongues of Europe at the time, particularly through the agency of John Smith, fell upon the Pilgrim unrest like seed in fertile soil. By 1617 the leaders of the Leyden Colony probably began to entertain seriously the idea of picking up their homes once more and adventuring across the Atlantic where "they could bring up their children in their own faith and, also advance the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ."

AMERICA

Once the idea fastened upon them, the fever flamed quickly and preparations were under way shortly to investigate the lands of Guiana. This soon proved to be unpalatable to the majority of the congregation however, for the women folk unanimously were "affrightened of snakes and other venomous creatures of the tropics" and so it was determined to seek a new home in the "most northern parts of Virginia"—probably New York or New Jersey.

First, they must be assured that, after going to all the toil and trouble of migration, they would be permitted to live together as a distinct body and be free to follow their own modes of worship without restriction or interference of any kind. So Robert Cushman and John Carver were appointed to proceed to London and to confer with the London Company about their welcome and to determine what privileges would be assured.

To the London Company, the two ambassadors alleged that the Pilgrims would be ideal material for the founding of a permanent settlement in that they were already "weaned from the delicate milk of the mother country." Also, "that they were knit together in a strict and sacred band, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. That it was not with them, as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again."

As might be expected, the London Company eagerly embraced the ambassadors and offered Cushman and Carver a grant of land on the spot. But the two were canny men, and, with respectful appreciation, refused to obligate themselves until they returned to Holland and presented the matter to the entire congregation. The congregation proved to be enthusiastic and at once dispatched an application to the King, seeking to have the Crown confirm, under the Great Seal, all requested liberty of conscience and religion. This James declined to do, but he did promise not to molest them.

Again the congregation met and considered the weighty matter. Should they trust the royal word or not? Finally, some cynic arose and pointed out that if it was ever the purpose of the Crown to wrong them, means could easily be found to accomplish the deed, "though they had a seal in their possession as broad as a house door."

So, in 1619, determined to throw themselves upon the King's word, the Pilgrims entered into an agreement with the London Company. Problems arose, the issuance of the patent was delayed, and, when it was finally granted, was given in the name of one John Wincob, a man who changed his mind at the last moment and did not sail at all.

Once determined upon the hazard, the Pilgrims came face to face with an obstacle which threatened to end their plans once and for all. They were poor. How could they pay for transportation across the Atlantic, and, once there, provide for their food, shelter, and clothing until they could establish themselves in the wilderness? Clearly, the only possible means was to seek assistance. Charity was beyond the pale; some sort of business arrangement was the only way possible. A merchant of London, a Master Weston, was discovered sympathetic. He was approached and became interested. Finally, he formed a group of other merchants and the necessary capital was subscribed. However, the terms were dreary hard. For seven years, the Pilgrims bound themselves to the merchants, rating their services as being of the value of ten pounds each year.¹ At the end of the seven years, the contract ran, all the profits derived from the labors of the Pilgrims, together with "houses and lands, gardens and fields" acquired were to be divided amongst all concerned. Thus, the poor immigrant, after seven years of labor, received no more of the property which he had created than did the London merchants who advanced a sum of ten pounds.

But, sustained by their faith and their ideals, this unequitable arrangement did not weigh heavily upon the Pilgrims, and blithely they prepared for the exodus. Two ships were acquired, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*, of 60 and 180 tons burden respectively.

The two ships were of much smaller tonnage than had been anticipated (they were hardly more than pleasure yachts of today), and thus the Pilgrims were forced to divide themselves. Only the young and robust could go; that was clear; the old, the weak and the ill must be left behind, to come later when, as, and if the venture proved a success. What disruption of families, what sorrow and tears, this occasioned cannot be known, but it must have been enough to daunt any hearts less stout and any faith less virile than that of the Pilgrims.

At the end of July, 1620, the Leyden band moved down to Delfshaven on canal boats and boarded the tiny *Speedwell*. The night was spent in prayer and tears, in the singing of psalms and in the final words of comfort and hope which those who were to adventure the unknown exchanged with those who could not go.

As the *Speedwell* was clearing port, led by Pastor Robinson, they went on board. He, "falling down upon his knees (and they all with him), with waterie cheeks commended them with the most

Note 1. Voluntary joint-stock £10 a share. Each man who went got 1 share for services. Joint-stock paid EXPENSES of transportation and living.

fervente praiera to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of the other; which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

A fair wind blew, a parting volley was fired, and in four days the *Speedwell* arrived at Southampton, where the *Mayflower* was waiting. On the third of August, all difficulties, expected and unexpected, were disposed of and all was ready. But still another day was taken up in organizing the berthing of the party and in new arrangements, so that it was not until the 5th that the anchors were lifted and the sails trimmed.

Hardly had they taken their departure from the last headland, than Reynolds, captain of the *Speedwell*, discovered that his ship was leaking badly. So the party put into Dartmouth, where the *Speedwell* was searched from stem to rudder post, and the leak found and repaired. Once again, out of sight of land, Reynolds found another leak, and the party put into Plymouth. There it was discovered that the ship had not been properly fitted out; her sails were too large, for one thing, and it was considered that this had given the captain and crew, who regretted their contract to stay in the new land for one year with the Pilgrims, the opportunity to so drive the ship that her seams were strained and thus opened. Certainly, later, when the *Speedwell* was sold and sent out by a merchant, she proved thoroughly satisfactory and sea-worthy.

The decision which the Pilgrims made to abandon the *Speedwell* was a most difficult one. They crowded as much of her cargo and passengers into the *Mayflower* as possible, but a great deal could not be taken. As for the passengers, this was not of importance, for some twenty of them had weakened through sea-sickness and lost their enthusiasm. But the cargo abandonment was serious, for it immediately jeopardized the entire success of the venture, making what was at first a difficult job at best now extremely problematical.

However, nothing could stop the Pilgrims, so on Wednesday, September 6, the *Mayflower* lifted her hook out of Plymouth mud and sank below the line of the western horizon. The voyage had begun. The die was cast. There could be no turning back for the third time. Colonization had started.

THE VOYAGE

On board were one hundred and one passengers, persons whose identity has been of more social concern to past and present generations of Americans than probably any other shipload of immigrants who

ever reached these shores. There were 56 adult Pilgrims, 20 boys, 11 girls, 9 servants, and 5 men who were not Separatists. Of the men twenty-six were married; of the women, eighteen. Probably only two of the company were more than fifty years of age, and not more than nine were over forty. Of the group, the oldest died first as a general thing, in the desperate year ahead, and thus the entire settlement was that of young folks. So the often used name "Pilgrim Fathers" hardly is applicable. For example: John Alden was but 21, Bradford 31, Winslow 25, and Standish 36.

Concerning the *Mayflower* little is known, but it seems probable that she was just under one hundred feet in length and of not above twenty-five feet beam. She carried a crew of forty eight. Her fore and main-masts were square-rigged while the mizzen supported a triangular lateen canvas. The forecastle and poop were both high, with the middle low, and undoubtedly wet.

However, for the Pilgrims she was not as uncomfortable as legends and stories would lead one to believe, as she was, for that time, large, well-constructed, and sturdy. The passengers were doubtless crowded and cramped, but there were no cattle aboard and the poultry, swine, and goats were penned forward out of the way. The crew lived forward, while the passengers were berthed aft, some of the men sleeping in a small sailing boat carried on the main deck for use in scouting upon arrival. The passengers did not sleep in hammocks, as has been said, but in bunks. And furthermore, there is no evidence that any furniture was transported. Certainly, a modern cargo steamer could hardly carry as much furniture as antique enthusiasts would have us believe the *Mayflower* did.

For the standards of the day, living conditions were not as bad as they might have been. Of course, the staple articles of food were cheese, bacon, smoked herring, salt beef, hard-tack, and a light beer. But there were also butter, mustard, and lemons. And there was also brandy—for the Pilgrims followed the then universal habit of a moderate daily use of hard liquor.

Cooking was a difficult matter, and much of the food was unquestionably eaten cold—for with so many aboard there must needs have been a modern galley instead of the fire of charcoal, lit in a box of sand, over whose feeble heat the women had to hold pans at arms' length.

Bathing and washing must have been a difficult business too, and their clothing must have been in a sad state when shore was reached and fresh water once more obtainable, instead of being jealously measured out for drinking alone. However, from the records of the

Pilgrims, it is evident that they held cleanliness very close to Godliness, and thus sanitary standards aboard the *Mayflower* were undoubtedly very high for the day and age.

Even in modern vessels of good size, a late autumn voyage across the Atlantic is at times a rough passage, and the tiny *Mayflower* plodding along, must have weathered many storms. Winds were high and seas perilous. But only once did the Western Ocean threaten to engulf them. That was in mid-ocean, when, during a storm, a beam supporting the deck cracked and fell out of place. It was repaired with ropes, and jacked back into service. Some timid souls were for putting back to England, but as it was evident that it would be just as perilous to turn back as to proceed, the voyage was continued.

And then, at last, although delayed by high winds out of the wrong quarter which made it impossible to proceed to the south-west but forced a course more to the north, the *Mayflower* came in sight of land on November 9th. The long voyage was completed.

As soon as the land was clearly seen, the captain discovered it to be Cape Cod. Thus they had made a landfall some two hundred miles to the north of their proposed destination. So, tacking, the *Mayflower* headed south and west, but after a day's sailing they found themselves amid shoals and breakers, which so threatened the safety of the ship that the captain bore off.

A consultation was held. Should they head out to sea and then turn westward and south once more—or should they return to Cape Cod and found their settlement there? If so, they would abandon their arrangement with the London Company, and find themselves instead upon the region of the Plymouth Company. At length, they concluded to return to the Cape, and thus Massachusetts came into being.

There has been considerable difficulty expressed in the understanding of why the Pilgrims thus changed their plans. One group of writers thinks that the voyagers were so weary of the sea and so terrified of the Nantucket shoal waters that they fled to the Cape in terror. Another group thinks that certain members of the company, or possibly the captain, had previously agreed to betray the London Company and land the settlers in Plymouth Company's territory. The historians of the party, Winslow and Bradford, are silent on the point. They simply remark that the season of the year was far advanced, that the ship was somewhat damaged in the mid-ocean storm, that food was low, and that the captain was anxious to reach a winter haven without delay. Probably these facts did help the Pilgrims to change their minds but, as far as can be discovered, it was a point of little interest to them.

Be that as it may, there was undoubtedly friction among the company, for, as the ship sailed northward back along the Cape all the men met in the main cabin, and drew up a solemn compact which they signed in order to preserve peace and harmony.

This remarkable document reads:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne, Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, *Franc*, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c. *Haveing* undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallly in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enact, constitute, and frame such just & equall laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye general good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland, ye fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620."

This compact established a feeling of security and well being again; in fact, Bradford says it was as legal and as useful as the patent from the London Company under which they had sailed and which they had now abandoned.

By the time the compact was finished, November 11, the *Mayflower* was safely anchored in Provincetown Harbor. "A pious and well approved gentlemen," John Carver, was chosen governor for one year and the business of finding a site for settlement undertaken at once. Of course, their first aim was to establish a permanent trading post which would maintain itself by fishing and by bartering with the Indians. That none of the Pilgrims had ever fished at all, or, with the exception of Standish, ever fired a gun, did not disturb them. They were farmers, nothing more, save those of them who had followed some trade or other in Holland. Really, it is difficult to comprehend how ill-prepared they were. Their ignorance was astonishing. In the woods they were actually frightened by "lions," and they believed that spices grew on blue-berry bushes. But if physically innocent, they were yet armored spiritually. They were loyal to each other, they were devoted to a high religious ideal and they were patient, honest, and industrious. In a word, they were stout-hearted.

EXPLORATION

After a delay of several days, during which the women probably were busy washing clothes and the men wandering about their new world, the little shallop which had been carried between decks was launched, found leaky, repaired, and fitted out. While this work was going forward, on the 15th of November, a small exploring party under the leadership of Captain Miles Standish set out to find, if they could, a site for settlement.

Hardly had they penetrated the thick forest of pine than they discovered a half-dozen Indians, who fled precipitately. Until dark, the scouts chased these Indians but were forced to give over the pursuit at nightfall. After a watchful night, the chase was continued as fruitlessly as before. Along toward noon they came to a beautiful vale in which were clear springs. There they refreshed themselves and returned to the beach, where, as a signal to the *Mayflower*, they built a fire on the sand to assure the main group that they were safe.

Continuing on, they shortly came to some pleasant open, sandy country where they found several mat-covered mounds which they concluded were Indian graves. Nearby was a frail, mat-covered structure, which they decided was a house. There, in baskets, and buried in the ground, they found a ship's kettle and a very large quantity of corn. This was a pleasing discovery for the *Mayflower* was short of food. Most of the corn they buried, but ten bushels they took with them and started back. At night they had regained the valley of the springs, where they slept peacefully, reaching the ship the following day.

The shallop was by this time prepared, and a large exploring expedition was organized. Some thirty men embarked on the tiny craft, and another party on foot marched away down the Cape. As the parties left, the weather became very severe; easterly gales raged, rain and sleet and snow fell, and the sea-weary folk suffered extremely. Several of them contracted illnesses of which they died. The weather proved so bitter that within a few days the two parties returned, having wasted their time and strength.

Meanwhile, back on the *Mayflower*, a child was born; Peregrine White, certainly the first child of English parents born in New England—and if the Norse sagas are not accepted, the first white child also. Peregrine was a stout child and lived to see Plymouth flourish and prosper. He died in 1704, eighty-three years and three months old.

Again, on the 6th of December, a third party was organized and



THE SHRINE, PLYMOUTH ROCK

set out, being led by Carver, Winslow, and Bradford, as well as Standish. Following the bay shore, they cruised along, landing a foot party from time to time. At evening, they landed at Great Meadow Creek and here they had their first brush with the Indians. At midnight, with fierce yells, a band of savages attempted to frighten them away. And again at dawn yells rang out again, and a flight of arrows sped harmlessly into camp. A brisk reply of musketry nipped the attack in the bud, and after prayers for their deliverance, the entire party embarked and continued coasting. During the day, however, an easterly gale so cold that the salt spray froze as it splashed aboard, sprang up and afflicted the party dreadfully. Soon the mast was snapped off, the rudder broken, and they drifted along helpless. By laboring at the oars, from time to time, they managed to avoid ship-wreck, and at nightfall made a safe landing on Clark's Island, off the entrance to Plymouth Harbor. There, in great discomfort, they passed a wretched night.

The next day being the Sabbath, they passed the hours in worship, and did not continue the trip. But the following morning, December 11th, old style, or the 21st according to the modern calendar, they explored the harbor and sent a party ashore to overlook the country. They found it well-wooded but partly cleared, and with pure water from springs and brooks abundant. This seemed to them a most excellent site, and so, sailing home, on the 15th they brought the glad tidings to the *Mayflower* that their new home had been found. In grateful remembrance of the kindness they had received in Old Plymouth, when they put into that port with the leaking *Speedwell*, they named the place New Plymouth. Oddly enough, John Smith, years before, had given the same name to the harbor.

SETTLEMENT

On December 16 (26) the *Mayflower* sailed into Plymouth harbor, being delayed by adverse winds and making a rough passage of the few miles. Thankfully, the party finally landed. For several days, the men scouted about, selecting and abandoning site after site until they finally came to agree upon the location selected by the scouting party originally.

The first job was the erection of a stout palisade with which to hold off the Indians. Logs were cut and dragged by manpower and a "fort" finally completed. To the difficulty of the work, the fact that the *Mayflower* lay a mile out in the harbor added greatly—as did the long periods of storms sandwiched in between cold waves. Many of the men sickened, but the work went forward.

Christmas went unnoticed, which was to be expected, for like many Protestant congregations of the time, the Pilgrims did not observe the day as they could find no warrant for so doing in the Bible.

On the 28th, the town site was mapped out along the brook, and the party was divided up into nineteen families, the boys and bachelors being placed with married folk so as to make division and construction of dwellings simpler. By the 9th of January, a common house, twenty feet square, made of hand-hewn planks, chinked with mud and roofed with thatch, was completed, and the sick of the party moved in.

A few days later this thatch caught fire and nothing could be done to extinguish it, but luckily the flames burned themselves out without harming the occupants or injuring the beams of the roof. Being a Sunday, nothing could be done to repair the roof, although it was a cold rainy day. Soon, however, it was repaired, and Elder Brewster, the next Sunday, celebrated divine service—the first Protestant service in New England.

Despite the weather, the work of building went on apace. By the middle of February several log cabins and many sheds were completed, and the work of unloading the *Mayflower* begun. The first job was to get two cannon ashore and to mount them in the fort—for Indians had been seen and the company was very much afraid of them.

All winter long sickness had been common, and in February Bradford's "General sickness" struck the colony. Many historians lay this to the severity of the New England winter, but, since the climate has not changed appreciably in many centuries, probably the hard labor, and the continual exposure to the elements which every member of the Pilgrims constantly endured, brought about the illness.

The illness seems to have been a type of tuberculosis, the variety still known in New England as galloping consumption. In December six died; in January eight; in February seventeen and in March thirteen. The plight of the Pilgrims was extreme. Bradford indicates that at times no more than a half-dozen of the party were well at one time, and of them all, only Standish and Brewster escaped unscathed. The devotion of one to another that they had boasted about to the London Company now received its acid test. The labor the handful of well folks performed must have been stupendous. Not only did they mount guard against the Indians, hew wood, draw water, and build cabins, but night and day they had to cook, make beds, wash clothes, and nurse the sick, performing, as Bradford says, "willingly and cheerfully services which dainty stomachs could hardly endure to hear named."

The conduct of the crew of the *Mayflower* seems to have been unsympathetic to an extreme; they even refused to help in the time of crisis. But when the "General sickness" struck at them too, the Pilgrims, already overburdened, turned the other cheek and nursed the sailors. By the end of the winter half of the party was buried—only fifty-five, including twenty-three adults, survived the few months. Of the fourteen wives, but four survived. John Carver, the Governor, passed away on April 5th, the very day the *Mayflower* sailed away for England, leaving the Pilgrims alone, sick, weak, almost defenseless.



APTUXCET, 1627, PLYMOUTH COLONY'S FIRST TRADING POST

As the soft airs of spring breathed new strength into the colony, William Bradford was chosen Governor, and he at once began to take active measures leading to better protection against the Indians. Just as the men were meeting at the Common House to discuss their plans, a solitary Indian came walking boldly down the one street of the new town. Wearing nothing but a strip of ringed leather about his waist, he was about to be attacked by the men when he cried, "Welcome, Englishmen!" In broken English, he then explained that he was Samoset, a Maine Indian chief, and had learned English from the crews of English fishermen off the Maine coast. He talked pleasantly and asked for beer. They took him to dinner and gave him instead liquor, biscuit, cheese, pudding, and roast duck. Mellowed, he proceeded to tell the Pilgrims a great deal about the Indians of

the neighborhood, and said that the village was originally occupied by Indians, who called Plymouth, Patuxet. These Indians, he said, had all been killed by a great plague a few years previously. As night came on, the Pilgrims threw stronger and stronger hints suggesting his departure, but Samoset was not inclined to go and so he spent the night, with Pilgrims mounting guard over him. In the morning he did go—but promising to return.

Return he did a few weeks later, with five red brothers whom the Pilgrims entertained as well as they could. As the day was Sunday, it must have been an embarrassing situation, for the braves, to show their appreciation of the Englishmen's hospitality, insisted upon singing and dancing. This visit was short, but a few days later Samoset returned again, bringing with him this time another Indian, Squanto.

Squanto had been captured on the coast by a captain of John Smith's expedition, sold in Spain as a slave, had escaped to England, where he was kindly treated, and returned to America. Thus he was able to talk freely with the Pilgrims and, being well disposed, aided them materially.

These two Indians shortly threw the colony into great excitement, for they blandly informed the Pilgrims that Chief Massasoit, head of the nearest tribe of natives, was on his way to visit the town and would arrive within the hour. Sure enough, the Chief appeared with sixty braves and entered Plymouth. Liquor, butter, and biscuits were set before the red-skins, and at a council in the Common House with much ceremony a treaty was signed under which the Indians and the Pilgrims came to live peacefully for some forty years.

Squanto stayed behind when the Indians departed, and settled down to live with the Pilgrims. Under his guidance they planted some twenty acres of corn. The labor involved must have been tremendous. Holes were dug with a mattock, a few fish were buried in each hole for a fertilizer, as Squanto taught them, and then guard had to be mounted to prevent wild animals digging up the fish and thus spoiling the seed. Also, thanks to Squanto, a lucrative trade in furs soon sprang up and really, with his coming, the night of adversity ended, prosperity began to dawn.

About this time the Pilgrims suffered the first breach of peace amongst themselves. John Billington was the offender. He was "an incorrigible fellow," who had smuggled himself aboard the *Mayflower* in London, was convicted of "contempt for the captain's command, and opprobrious speeches." For this, he was sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together. This punishment frightened the

fellow and he humbly begged forgiveness—and was pardoned. But kindness seems to have been wasted upon him for he continued to be an idle, worthless, scamp and was constantly in confusion. He had a son of equal merit who was another thorn in the Pilgrims' side. Finally, two other men, servants of Elder Hopkins, managed to quarrel seriously enough so that they sought to cool themselves with a duel with daggers. Both were wounded. They were haled before the Governor, who determined that it was his duty to make an example of them, so he ordered that they be tied neck and heels for a space of twenty-four hours, during which time they were to be denied both food and drink. The sentence was at once put into effect but the intense suffering the awkward position occasioned soon softened the hearts of the Pilgrims and the two were released in one hour.

The spring ripened into summer, and found the colony busy and healthy once more. The first houses had proved so unpleasant that new ones were begun, and seven dwellings were completed together with four common structures. Trade with the Indians progressed favorably and a detail of the men was engaged in splitting a cargo of clapboards, riven from felled logs with axes and wedges, against the arrival of the ship *Fortune*, expected in the autumn.

Relations with the Indians were maintained carefully. In July, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow were sent to Massasoit to try to pay the owners, if they could be discovered, for the corn Standish had seized on his first exploring trip on the Cape. The two were kindly received, their trumpery presents valued greatly, and much good will created at little expense.

Exploration was also continued, a boatload of men coasting up into Boston Bay and opening a new trading for fur traffic with Indians along the coast.

FIRST INDIAN TROUBLE

One cloud marred the horizon, however, and that was the jealousy that Massasoit's brother chiefs came to have for his favor with the Pilgrims. One of them, Corbitant, a sachem under Massasoit's rule, came to think that if Squanto were killed, the Pilgrims would lose their contact with Massasoit and thus all would be as before. So he seized Squanto and, being cautious circulated the report that he had killed the "Good Indian." Possibly he wanted to see what would happen to him if he did finally kill Squanto.

As soon as the news reached Plymouth, Standish set out with a dozen men and surprised Corbitant's village. Great confusion ensued,

for it was evident that the Indians had a very healthy respect for the Pilgrims' muskets. Squanto was at once released and the matter blew over harmlessly, without blood being shed.

Although a minor matter, the affair served to demonstrate to the Indians that the Pilgrims, although few, were sturdy folk and that they intended to enforce respect. So, on the 18th of September, a party of nine minor sachems visited Plymouth, entreated the friendship of the Pilgrims and acknowledged themselves as friends of the English forever.

THE FIRST THANKSGIVING

Thus the first summer passed cheerfully away and autumn brought a bountiful harvest of corn; to celebrate their well-being a Thanksgiving feast was held. The menu consisted of an abundance of wild turkey, deer, hasty pudding, and corn bread. Probably all of the butter, bread, cheese, and the like brought from England were exhausted, but there was plenty of liquor. Massasoit and all his tribe were guests of the Pilgrims and three days were passed in eating and in sports. In fact, the first Thanksgiving seems more like a modern barbecue than the grimly decorous ceremony tradition paints the occasion as being.

STARVATION

Late in November, scarcely after the Feast of Thanksgiving, the ship *Fortune* arrived with thirty-five new colonists who came with happy smiles and good intentions, but without food or clothes. However, the survivors of the first winter joyously welcomed the newcomers and tightened their belts and mended their rags so that there would be enough to keep body and soul together until the next harvest.

Really that was just about the exact condition, for everyone had to go on half rations immediately and remain on his enforced diet until early the next summer when the woods and fields once more yielded of their plenty. Just how serious conditions were that second winter Bradford has described: "Many were ragged in apparel and some were *little beter* than halfe naked. For food they were all alike save some that had got a few pease of the ship that was last hear. The best dishe they could presente their friends with was a lobster or a peece of fish or anything else with a cupp of fair spring water." Winslow in "Good News from New England," declares that he often saw men staggering about at noon-day, not with spirits but from weakness brought about by lack of food. For consolation, as Bradford states, they depended upon the Bible: as, Deuteronomy VIII, 3, "And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which

thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live."

Meanwhile, the *Fortune* had sailed back to England, bearing a cargo of clapboards, furs, sassafras, and other articles, to the estimated value of about twenty-five hundred dollars—the first installment the Pilgrims paid upon their debt.

INDIAN TROUBLE

Hardly had the *Fortune*, and her cannon, sunk below the eastern horizon than the little colony was terrified by a dark cloud of Indian trouble. Massasoit remained friendly enough but he was only a minor chieftain, hemmed in by tribes much more powerful and warlike, who did not think much of either the Pilgrims or of Massasoit's friendship for them. Outstanding amongst these hostile Indians was Canonicus, chief sachem of the nation or tribe of the Narragansetts, a powerful group who occupied much of the present State of Rhode Island and ruled their own territory and that of their neighbors' with a harsh and bloody firmness. Massasoit was frightened at them and stood ready to obey their slightest wish. No doubt, had Canonicus so ordered, he would have readily ignored his treaty with the Pilgrims and put Plymouth to fire and scalping knife.

However, Canonicus was not precisely certain of the temper or the resources of the Pilgrims and determined to test them before entering upon definite hostilities. So, filling a rattle-snake skin with arrows, the traditional Indian symbol of intention to declare war, he waited to see what reply the Pilgrims would make. Had they wavered, their doom would have been sealed; ashes would have marked the site of Plymouth.

But Governor Bradford was a stout leader and well advised. Emptying out the arrows and breaking them before the eyes of Canonicus' messenger, he filled the skin with powder and shot and sent it back to the sachem with the message that he regretted he could not come to attack the Narragansetts since he was, for the moment, without ships, but that if Canonicus would be kind enough to oblige he was welcome to come to Plymouth and put the matter to the test of battle.

The boldness and readiness was the ideal strategy. The message and the powder-and shot-bloated snake skin so terrified Canonicus that he would not receive the skin nor would he permit it to remain within his territory. So he sent it off immediately to another Indian village. There it was received with identical superstitious fear, and forwarded

to yet another village, and so on until eventually, after a tour of all the Indian villages of the tribe, it was returned to Plymouth without any Indian having been bold enough to risk opening the dreadful package. Thus, through Bradford's diplomacy, the ominous threat of Indian war was not merely dissolved harmlessly but the Indians were so filled with respect for the white men that no more war clouds gathered for years.

However, the Pilgrims were prudent folk, and as soon as Canonicus' threat had been returned to him they set about considering their own safety. As a first line of defense, they built a new palisade of heavy logs about the town. Next they instituted a system of general military drill for every able-bodied male, and finally worked out a code of rules and regulations in which everyone was drilled so that each person would have a definite duty and a definite place in case of any Indian alarm or attack.

About the same time, news seeped into the colony, possibly carried by fishermen from England, of the horrible massacre of the settlers in Virginia by the Indians of the South under the leadership of Opechancanough. This increased the Pilgrims' alarm and they further strengthened their position by building a stout fort upon the hill above the town, a fort which commanded the entire district and also served as a church. Thus did the self-reliant folk provide themselves with both security and a house of worship.

In the spring, to prepare a cargo against the coming of a ship from England, the settlement determined upon a second trading voyage up into Massachusetts Bay. The Indians, including Squanto, were opposed to this. One of them, Hobbamock, went so far as to claim that not only was the Massachusetts tribe in league with the Narragansetts and would murder the trading party, but that Massasoit was under orders from the Narragansetts to attack Plymouth as soon as the town was weakened by the departure of the trading party.

Nevertheless, the Pilgrims must have furs to send to England as payment upon their debt, so Standish with ten men was ordered to go. As the ship sailed out of the shallow harbor bound north, accompanied by both Squanto and Hobbamock, an Indian, with blood streaming from his wounds, dashed into the village and cried that he had just escaped from Massasoit who was on his way to attack Plymouth. Confounded by the blood, and taking it as evidence of good faith, Governor Bradford sounded an alarm and fired a cannon to recall Standish and his men, who had not sailed very far.

Squanto and Hobbamock, upon their return, both declared the report impossible so Bradford dispatched a squaw to Massasoit's village

to find out the truth. Massasoit, who never broke his treaty, was justly enraged at the slander, and demanded that the Pilgrims arrest the blood-smeared alarmist and send him to the Indian village for punishment.

MORE STARVATION

This, however, was never done, for while the Pilgrim Elders were deliberating upon the justice of surrendering the Indian, a strange sail swept into the harbor. At first alarmed, the Pilgrims' fears soon turned to rejoicing, for the ship proved to be a friendly merchantman, owned by Thomas Weston of London, on its way to the Maine fisheries which had called at Plymouth with seven more colonists for the new town.

These emigrants, too, were destitute, and so the already starving Pilgrims had to give away more of their rags and scale down their meagre diets still further. Winslow, however, declaring that he was not content to sit and starve, manned the Pilgrims' little craft and set off for Maine with the purpose of buying provisions from the fishing fleet congregated there. The worthy fishers loaded the Pilgrims' ship with everything they could spare, refused a cent in payment and sent Winslow home rejoicing. This opportune relief, administered with judicious economy, sufficed to keep the colony alive until the harvest.

THE SERPENT IN EDEN

In July, the serpent entered Eden. Two vessels, also belonging to Weston, the *Charity* and the *Swan*, sailed into Plymouth Harbor, bearing sixty able-bodied men who had come, not to unite with Plymouth, but to found a new colony nearby which was owned by Weston. Weston had a distinct grant from the Plymouth Company and thus his men were beyond the control of the Plymouth Elders.

Chiefly indentured servants, and a wild, reckless, improvident assemblage, the Pilgrims could not fail to look upon them with dislike. Nevertheless, Plymouth welcomed them and stood ready to aid them in whatever way possible, even sharing their food with them.

Selecting a site at Narragansett, now Weymouth, the party settled down to carve an estate out of the wilderness for Weston. He could not have been worse served. Godless, idle, and utterly out of the control of their leaders, the sixty men, instead of planting a crop and building houses, lived pleasantly in the warm summer weather upon the supplies Weston had furnished. Soon these were exhausted. With famine staring them in the face, they fell upon the neighboring

Indians and stole and raided whatever they needed or desired. Naturally, the Indians became enraged and would doubtless have fallen upon Weymouth and massacred the sixty had they not been restrained by fear of retaliation from Plymouth.

Plymouth, fearful of ultimate consequences, although they had no legal responsibility for Weymouth, determined to come to the rescue of the colony. An expedition under Standish made a military demonstration against an Indian village which was particularly restive under the unfair treatment the Weymouth group had given it. The Indians thus checked, Plymouth took council to save the economic situation. A trading expedition along the coast was declared to be the only possible salvation of the colony and so the *Swan*, manned by Weymouth men, set out, accompanied by the Pilgrims' little ship as guide and counsellor. At first, such was the reputation Weymouth had gained for itself in a few months, the Indians everywhere refused to trade with either ship. Finally, however, Squanto, able interpreter, managed to overcome the natural hatred of the Indians and the voyage began to prosper, particularly for the Pilgrims who found no difficulty in gathering the food-stuffs they stood so badly in need of back in Plymouth.

But the voyage was doomed to be unfortunate. First the *Swan*, disliking perhaps the strictly business-like methods of the Pilgrims and probably believing that greater profits could be obtained with less justice, sailed away on its own. And then, Squanto, the main-stay of the Pilgrims, was seized of a fever. Knowing himself beyond the aid of the Pilgrims' medical knowledge, he drew up a will in which he bequeathed his few trifles to different white friends, and then stoically laid down to die. With his last breath, he implored the Plymouth men to "Pray for me that I may go to the Englishmen's God in Heaven."

Turning about, abandoning their project of doubling Cape Cod and establishing trading connections with the Narragansetts and Pequods, the Pilgrims doubled back into Massachusetts Bay. There, when some fifty miles from Plymouth, their vessel grounded and was wrecked beyond hope of repair. Removing their cargo and storing it under the care of friendly Indians, Bradford and his men set off along shore, tramping through the sand, cutting across headlands through thick forest, and finally plodding home to find the *Swan* in Plymouth harbor. There was an abundance of corn aboard the *Swan*, and this the Pilgrims finally managed to have divided between Weymouth and Plymouth. Then the *Swan* sailed back to Weymouth, her crew sobered somewhat by the threat of approaching cold and storm of winter.

WAR

In terror, the Pilgrims soon learned that the Indians had become definitely tired of Weymouth and had determined to brave the anger of Plymouth, burn Weymouth to the ground, and remove the stain of the settlement with blood. It soon became evident also that the respect in which the Indians held Plymouth made it necessary, in the natives' opinion, to erase Plymouth also; and so a wide-spread union was being effected amongst all the Indians of that section of New England to muster braves enough to launch simultaneous and effective attacks upon the two settlements.

However, good fortune continued to favor the Pilgrims, and the Indian scare eventually was checkmated by a simple act of charity on the part of Plymouth. In March, 1623, news came to the town that Massasoit was dangerously ill and upon the point of death. Governor Bradford at once sent Winslow, with Hobbamock as guide and interpreter, to express to the dying chieftain the Pilgrims' sympathy and appreciation.

The first night out, Winslow lodged at Mamasket, which is now the town of Middleboro. There Indians gave him the news that Massasoit was in fact dead, and that his second in authority, Corbitant, had succeeded to the chieftainship. Corbitant's village was but three miles distant at Mattapoiset, a lovely place, then and now, and thither Winslow hastened to cry "The King is Dead, Long Live the King." As he and Hobbamock ploughed through the forest, the Indian made the woods dismal with his mourning and warnings of misfortune for the Pilgrims.

"O my chief, my dear, my loving chief," he wailed, "With many have I been acquainted, but none ever equalled thee. O Master Winslow, his like you will never see again. He was not like other Indians, bloody and implacable; but kind, easily appeased when angry and easy reconciled with offenders. He was reasonable in his requirements; was not ashamed to ask advice of those in low station. He was a wise ruler. He governed better with mild, than other chiefs did with severe, measures; returning love for love. I fear you have not now a faithful friend left among the Indians."

When Winslow arrived at Mattapoiset, he found that Corbitant was absent. His wife, however, expressed her doubt that Massasoit was dead; she declared that if such was the case she would certainly be aware of it. Winslow, seeking to feel his way cautiously, sent a messenger to Massasoit's village, at Pokanoket, requesting permission to visit him. By nightfall, this messenger returned with an invitation

to come the next morning and with the news that, although the chief was alive, he was very low and his death was momentarily anticipated.

Winslow took care to arrive at Pokanoket at dawn, and at first fearing that he could not make his way through the host of anxious Indians who crowded about the chieftain's tent like bees about sugar, at length did make his way inside the bark house. There he found a distressing condition; Indian medicine men were loudly busy practicing their magical rites; every inch of space was packed with sweating Indians and the air was filled with smoke and body odors.

Although not a doctor, Winslow was well aware that peace and quiet together with clean, fresh air were things that the sick chief must enjoy if he was to recover, so, taking his courage in his hand, he cleared the house, and silenced the medicine men with promise of better magic than theirs.

Massasoit was stone blind and barely conscious, but as Winslow bent over him, he roused sufficiently to inquire who the stranger was. He was told. Taking the Pilgrim's hand, the Indian asked, "Art thou Winslow?" "Yes," was the reply. "O, Winslow," the aged sachem answered in a low voice, "I shall never see thee again."

Gambling desperately, well knowing that not merely his own person but the life of every white man in New England hung upon his slender knowledge of medicine, Winslow spoke soothingly to the sick Indian and said that the Pilgrims had sent him to restore the chief to health. Taking "a confection of many conserves" probably some sort of sweet jam or jelly upon the point of his hunting knife, Winslow forced the substance between the teeth of Massasoit. The Indian managed to swallow the sweet with great difficulty, but it served to clear his tongue and throat with such success that a second portion was taken with less difficulty and a third with little trouble. The sugar, probably the first nourishment the Indian had had for some time, gave him strength, so much so that within the hour his blindness passed and he fell asleep.

Winslow, elated with his success, sent a messenger to Plymouth, to acquaint the town with the state of affairs and to obtain some chickens from which a nourishing broth could be prepared. In the meantime he made a brew of corn, strawberry leaves and sassafras roots, which the Indian so relished that he ate to excess. This naturally caused a relapse but he recovered again in time to enjoy the chicken broth which had been sent from Plymouth and was shortly on the road back to health.

Thus Winslow, gambling desperately, won. All of Massasoit's

Wampanoags multiplied Massasoit's gratitude and considered Winslow's service proof of the sincerity of Plymouth.

But the chief benefit came from Massasoit himself who, as soon as he was able, betrayed the entire plot of the other tribes to wipe out all the English. To have such complete and detailed information enabled Plymouth to take the initiative at once, instead of waiting for the blow to fall.

Winslow hurried back home with the news and informed the town that the danger was pressing, that Weymouth had been selected for immediate attack, and that Massasoit advised that Wituwamat and a few others of the Massachusetts tribe were the ringleaders and, if they could be arrested and executed, the conspiracy would collapse.

Spurred by the emergency, the town voted to dispatch Captain Standish and eight men to Weymouth immediately to acquaint the other town of its peril, to sound out the situation and to arrest and kill Wituwamat and bring his head back to Plymouth.

As Standish's party was about to start, a man named Pratt arrived from Weymouth with a plea that Plymouth come to their rescue with food, for the entire village was upon the point of starvation—the Indians utterly refusing to give or sell them any food whatsoever.

Standish immediately set sail and shortly reached Weymouth. In the harbor, he found the *Swan* deserted and not a man to be seen on shore. They had all scattered into the woods in search of roots and berries for food, completely unaware of the peril which hung over them. A volley from the Pilgrims' guns brought the men straggling home and energetic means were at once undertaken to save the situation. All the colonists were ordered to centralize in the fort which Standish hastily erected and to arm to the teeth.

This accomplished, Standish sat down to wait for the Massachusetts tribe to make the first move. The news that Plymouth had marched to the rescue of Weymouth was soon made known to Wituwamat. Had he been cautious, he would have also played a waiting game and forced Standish to act, thus sacrificing the security of his position. But the Indians were impatient and determined to force the issue once and for all.

Accordingly, within a few days, Wituwamat and many of his braves frequented Weymouth, badgering the colonists and Standish in particular in hope of igniting a conflict. Standish however, was wary and ordered everyone to wait until he could give the signal for an onslaught at a favorable moment. The trial must have been severe. To prove their contempt for the English, the Indians would whet their knives upon the stone foundations of the fort while

expressing malice and hatred in every manner. An Indian, one Pecksuot, bearded Standish to his face, taunted him that the Pilgrim was afraid to act and was in fact a coward, it being only the Indians who were strong and brave. Wituwamat held his knife to Standish's face, showed him the woman's face carved upon the handle and said, "I have another at home, with a man's face carved upon it, that has killed both English and French. When the knife I hold here, this woman knife, has also killed English, then can I marry two knives." He had also much to say of the superiority of his knife to Standish's gun and, after abundant gestures, exclaimed, "By and by this knife shall see, and by and by it shall eat—but not speak."

For some twenty-four hours, Standish, his disciplined Pilgrims and the cowed Weymouth band, endured threats and insults but at length the moment Standish had been waiting for arrived. Wituwamat, Pecksuot and two other Indians followed Standish and three other Pilgrims into a house. At last numbers were equal. Ordering the door fastened, Standish seized Pecksuot's knife, as it hung about the Indian's neck, and drove it into his heart. Simultaneously, the other three Pilgrims fell upon the remaining three Indians. Although taken by surprise, the Indians struggled valiantly, and for a time, as they smashed about the room in a silence broken only by panting breath and the blows of conflict, the struggle waged fast and furious. They wrestled for the Indians' knives, they exchanged blows, they tumbled about; first one side would be on the floor and then the other. But at length Wituwamat and a third Indian were stabbed to death and the fourth brave, a brother of Wituwamat, surrendered—to be promptly hanged from the nearest tree.

Throughout the struggle, Hobbamock, who had been present, stood with folded arms, aiding neither one party or the other. Silently he watched the progress of the bloody conflict. When Standish stood to his feet, victorious, Hobbamock approached Standish and said, "Yesterday Pecksuot boasted of his strength and stature and called you a little man. Today I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground."

A seasoned campaigner, Standish did not waste the precious moment. Ordering a party to clean up the village, killing every Indian they could find, he marched the remainder of his command straight for Wituwamat's village. Very soon, his scouts came into contact with a large band of Indians—they had set out from Wituwamat's town that very day to attack Weymouth; the plan being for Wituwamat and his companions within the village to attack the colonists as the main party arrived and thus easily and quickly capture every white man.

Standish at once ordered an attack. The Indians met him firmly, but arrows and knives could not withstand gunpowder and shot and the Indians broke and fled without inflicting much harm upon the colonists.

Wisely, Standish concluded that he had accomplished his objective, and gathering up all the Weymouth colonists, cut off Wituwamat's head and sailed back to Plymouth. There he was received with rejoicing and the bloody head he exhibited was stuck upon a pole and exposed within the Plymouth fort as a warning to the Indians that the Pilgrims had come to stay and would stop at nothing to preserve their safety.

Because of the ill-favor with which the Weymouth colony was regarded by the Indians, the result of their unjust treatment of the Indians, it was mutually agreed that the colony would have to be abandoned. Those who desired to return to England were given the *Swan* and provisions, and advised to sail up the coast to Maine, where they would fall in with English fishermen who would see them home. The remainder had elected to join the fortunes of Plymouth and these were welcomed into the colony for as long as they proved themselves to be sober and industrious.

By Standish's firm, if bloody, promptness, the Indians were thoroughly convinced that it was best to leave the Pilgrims in peace, and as the abandonment of Weymouth removed that thorn from their flesh, peace settled down—for the time being.

Successful though the harsh policy was, the news of it was received abroad; particularly among the Pilgrims still remaining in Holland, with great sorrow. Pastor Robinson could not conceal his pain that the Pilgrims had shed blood in anger and wrote from peaceful Holland to bloody New England, "Oh, how happy a thing it would have been, if you had converted some before you had killed any."

This sentiment was echoed amongst members of the Pilgrims in Plymouth itself but the practical success of the iron-handed policy was so evident that it was soon accepted as a necessary evil and prayers were said in thanks for the perils from which they considered they had been delivered. How deeply the impression made sunk into the minds of the Indians is shown by the fact that, a few months later, the disaffected tribes sought to make peace with Plymouth and so dispatched a large canoe laden with peace-offerings to Plymouth. On the way, however, a storm upset the craft and all the crew were drowned. This unfortunate accident convinced the superstitious Indians that not merely were Pilgrim guns too much for them but that the Pilgrim God was stronger than theirs. Thus, to the military fear,

the Indians themselves added a psychological terror which, for a time, enabled any English man, woman or child to walk the woods in perfect safety. The leaders of the plot had told the Indians that unless they killed the Pilgrims, the Indians were doomed to extinction; the failure of the conspiracy convinced the Indians that such was indeed the case.

LEGAL TROUBLES

Troubles with the Indians over for some two generations, fifty years, the Pilgrims settled down in peace, hopeful that their trials were over. Weak in numbers, never destined to be numerous, and early to be swallowed up by the establishment of Boston, even for the first few years of their solitary grandeur the Pilgrims found plenty to occupy their minds.

First and most important amongst their troubles was that of their very legal existence. In 1623, Captain Robert Gorges, son of the enterprising Sir Ferdinando, sought to obtain a patent for Massachusetts Bay. The Council for New England appointed him lieutenant governor for New England and commissioned Francis West as vice admiral to cooperate with him and to form a council of which a Plymouth representative was to be the third member. A Mr. Morrell, a clergyman of the Church of England, was sent out as commissary of ecclesiastical affairs. Thus did political and religious clouds gather for the Pilgrims.

But circumstances were on the side of Plymouth. On the arrival, Gorges lacking support at home did not find the territory to his liking and settled at Weymouth. There, too, he was not pleased and returned home within the year. Admiral West had been straitly commissioned to "restrain interlopers and regulate all affairs" and to permit no fishermen or trading adventurers to pursue their vocations without a license. However, West found himself without any authority whatsoever, once the Atlantic was crossed. His every wish was lightly disregarded, so, even more quickly than Gorges, he too wearied of New England and sailed for Virginia, "where he hoped to find circumstances more to his liking."

Meanwhile, the Pilgrims having abandoned their London Company patent were without legal status so they obtained a grant from the Plymouth Company. This was granted in the name of John Pierce as trustee. Pierce, saw an opportunity for personal aggrandizement so he quietly obtained a new charter from the proprietaries, which would make him chief lord of the colony. Still Providence fought

for the Pilgrims and in two distinct attempts, two expeditions of his were driven back to England by fierce storms.

Thus, Pierce was discouraged and was easily induced to sell out to the English associates for five hundred pounds—(and probably never got a cent of it).

In August, 1624, sixty more of the Pilgrim colony and persuasion crossed the Atlantic in two ships, the *Anne* and the *Little Jane*. Unlike previous additions, these colonists came well supplied with food, clothing, and tools, and arrived most opportunely, for the food supply of Plymouth was so nearly exhausted when the ships sailed into the harbor that a "dish of fresh lobsters and a cup of water" was all that the citizens could place upon the table to welcome their friends. In return, the new arrivals spread a bountiful feast and a special day of Thanksgiving was observed in honor of the bounty.

At this time, Plymouth consisted of thirty-four dwellings and one hundred and eighty-four citizens and for more than ten years to follow the number did not materially increase.

When the *Anne* was loaded with clapboards and furs and sent home, Winslow was commissioned to sail with her for the purpose of arranging a loan in London to provide funds with which to bring over a cargo of badly needed supplies. In great distress, Winslow labored long and late with the reluctant London capitalists. At first it was feared that he would not be successful but at length he accomplished his task and arrived in Plymouth late the following winter with the needed materials, as well as a few cattle.

With him, as passengers, came John Lyford, an Episcopal clergyman who, professing Puritan doctrines, was welcomed into the Pilgrim Church. Once inside, he discovered that he believed it necessary to have the sacrament administered. This was hateful to the bulk of the Pilgrims and a bitter controversy sprang up, which ended finally with the expulsion of Lyford from the colony, together with Olham and Conant, his two most ardent supporters. The three moved to Nantasket where a small fishermen's settlement had been established. As many of the London supporters of Plymouth were opposed to the Puritan separation from the Church of England, this expulsion of the three led to financial difficulties.

Lyford, after attempting to gain control of the Plymouth colony through the London Church of England backers, at length abandoned his attempts and sailed for Virginia. Conant shortly removed together with a flock of cattle and three adventurers to Naumkeag, now Salem, where he established a Puritan settlement in 1626.

FINANCIAL TROUBLE

The Pilgrims, meanwhile, well aware that their financial affairs were ripening to a crisis, cleaned house at home to be in readiness for the struggle. From the very first they had been functioning upon a basis of common property—that is, every member was entitled to draw from the common fruits of all the colony's labor. Whether or not this often so-called Communistic policy was responsible for the chronic condition of starvation in which the colony for its first few years floundered, cannot be well determined, but when in 1624 the system was abandoned and each family was granted an acre of its own in fee, the new arrangement resulted in the largest harvest that year that the colony had received, and within a few years the farms were producing much more corn than could be eaten and starvation never again threatened the town.

If, agriculturally, Plymouth thus became prosperous, financially, her affairs grew steadily worse. The *Little James* had been sent over with the announced purpose to the crew of cruising against French and Spanish merchantmen, but in reality that of catching a cargo of fish. The *Anne*, who arrived with her, the London Company depended upon the Pilgrims to load with lumber and furs, as they did, but the Company thought to make the *Little James* pay for its voyage with fish. When the crew of the *Little James* learned the sad truth, they mutinied, and could only be persuaded to go on a trading voyage when the Pilgrims paid them extra wages directly out of their impoverished pockets. The trading voyage was a failure; the Dutch had anticipated the Pilgrims and bought all the furs the Indians had. To cap the climax, the *Little James* was wrecked in a storm when returning into Plymouth empty.

At great expense and labor, the Pilgrims repaired her, and in the following spring, sent her trading up the Maine coast. There she struck a rock, stove a hole in her bottom "as a horse and cart might have entered" and sank. Once again, the Pilgrims dug into their pockets, raised the ship, repaired her and sent her back to England. But there one of the London backers, Thomas Fletcher, seized the ship for a debt his associates owed him. Fletcher sent the *Little James* out for himself, but off the coast of England itself, a Barbary pirate captured her and sold the captain and crew into slavery. This misfortune made Fletcher himself a bankrupt.

In 1624, the London group made one more venture. They sent out the ship *Charity* with a shipwright and a salt-maker, as well as some cattle and a grant for land at Gloucester. The shipwright was

to build ships for the Pilgrims, and the salt-maker was to make salt which the Pilgrims were to sell to the Maine fishermen. But ill fortune dogged both. The shipwright died of fever and the salt-maker was so unskillful that he burned down his salt-making shed and ruined his equipment. The *Charity* herself, which was supposed to fill her holds with fish, also found poor luck attending her. To the Pilgrims this was no surprise; they saw the judgment of God in all the ill luck, for the captain was "a very drunken beaste and did nothing but drinke & gusle, and consume away the time & his victails and most of his company following his example."

When the *Charity* returned to London, the Pilgrims sent a letter which clearly stated their position: "We wish you woulde either roundly supply us ir es wholly forsake us, that we might know what to doe." They had, of course, no intention of making any other business arrangement with other financial backers, but they intended, if the group did fail them, to do the best they could for themselves.

When this letter and the news of all the *Charity's* misfortunes came to London, the backers naturally came to the conclusion that they were unwilling to continue. They thought it better to lose what they had already invested than to throw away good money after bad. However, although thus tacitly abandoning the enterprise, they stood firm on two points. First, since the Pilgrims were against the Church of England, they would work against the further immigration of the balance of the Leyden congregation to Plymouth and second, that they expected the Pilgrims to pay back some of the money that had been expended. So, London soon presented a bill for £1400.

The legal situation thus created was very obscure. There is considerable doubt if the London group could have collected its investment from the Pilgrims, but there is no doubt that, through the London group purchasing Pierce's patent, they owned all the land in Plymouth and thus the Pilgrims were their tenants in fact. Thus, the Pilgrims had no rights and could be turned out at any time the London group wished to spend the necessary money—or worse yet, elected to sell the land to an adventurer who desired the land and was willing to oust the Pilgrims.

Thus Plymouth considered it of paramount importance to clear the situation legally without any loss of time. They could neither bring over the rest of their brethren nor rest secure in their homes as matters stood.

Accordingly, in 1626, Allerton was dispatched to London to make an agreement with the London group. On October 26 he attended a meeting of the creditors and managed to put through an understand-

ing which did effectually clear away all the difficulty. The group sold to the Pilgrims "all and every the said shares, goods, lands, merchandize, and chattels to them belonging." In consideration, the Pilgrims bound themselves to pay eighteen hundred pounds sterling plus debts of £600 in London in two hundred pound annual installments, beginning in 1628. If through delay of any kind, payment was not received in London as agreed, the monies previously paid would not be lost but instead Plymouth would be liable for an additional sum of thirty shillings for each and every week of delay. When this glad news came home, Plymouth rejoiced. Bradford wrote: "all now has become our own as we say in the proverb when our debts were paid. . . . This wholly dashed all the plans and devices of our enemies both there and here who daily expected our ruin, dispersion, and utter subversion by the same."

In reality, however, all that the agreement accomplished was to clarify the situation and to give the colony a breathing space. How was the money to be paid? Serious and sober must have been the cogitations of the leaders of the colony. At length, eight of them nobly rose and pledged themselves to meet the entire obligation, and to provide the colony in the meantime with all its necessities. These were Standish, Alden, Brewster, Bradford, Allerton, Howland, Winslow, and Prence. Later, four Londoners joined with them as English agents. Isaac Allerton was to be the traveling agent to go back and forth being at each end the accredited agent of the absent parties. In return, the colony agreed to sell to the eight and the four (who called themselves the Undertakers), corn at six shillings a bushel, and to give them the entire trading facilities of the colony, ships, the fishing settlements on Cape Anne and the Kennebec, and a large stock of trade goods, such as beads, hatchets, pans, and the like. This agreement, made in 1627, was, however, hardly more than an open acknowledgment of a tacit arrangement of a condition which had existed for a considerable time previously, for the eight were really the business managers of the colony.

With this business-like program adopted and vigorously prosecuted, it now became possible to bring over the stranded brethren at Leyden. In August, 1629, thirty-five were brought over, and the following spring, sixty more came. The total cost was more than three thousand dollars, but at last, after nine years separation, the entire company was reunited—although for many a stone in the burial ground was the only physical tie.

At this time also, the colony rejoiced in the giving of a patent from the Council for New England which granted to William

Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, a territory which was about the same as the area now occupied by Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable Counties, together with a section of adjacent Rhode Island. Land in Maine was also included. Shortly Bradford assigned the patent and all rights contained in it to the entire body of freemen in Plymouth.

PROSPERITY

During the next thirty years, Plymouth enjoyed its greatest period of prosperity. The foundations of the Colony were at last secure and the ideals expressed in Leyden had been realized. A Commonwealth founded upon what they believed to be God's own ordinances had been established and no doubts could now be entertained of future prosperity. The Church was secure; the financial obligations had been lumped and were being surely if slowly paid. Accordingly, the leaders began directly, consciously, and specifically to order their affairs as exactly as they wished them. King and Bishops were three thousand salt miles away. Eden had been attained.

Thus, for the next thirty years or more, there is little of moment to record, save the slow, steady, peaceful growth of a sober, earnest, industrious people led by honest and upright men in accordance with ideals which were not merely respected but cherished by everyone. New and better houses replaced the first crude shelters, strong, simple, and beautiful furniture was constructed, and little by little luxuries from England made their way into everyday use. Life became not only spiritually but materially satisfying, and though in 1638 there was the Pequot War and though in 1639 there was the beginning of disputes with Boston, life flowed steadily on—as it has ever since.

But Plymouth was founded upon a religion and a mode of life which could not long endure. America was not hospitable to a self-contained community; the new nation was too vigorous, too big, to make it possible for Plymouth to remain in the sheltered isolation necessary to maintain its simplicity and its individuality. Long before the Grand Old Man, Bradford, died, he was aware of this fact; the trend of circumstances became plain to him and caused his declining years to darken. For him, the gradual wearing away of religious differences, the softening of dogmatic antagonisms, the very reason for the existence of the Pilgrim Church were no more saddening than the mixing of the population as Plymouth grew, as new and more liberal towns were founded and prospered amazingly beyond Plymouth's sober growth, with the beginning of a multiplicity of sects and creeds. Had the Old Man but known it, could he have but realized what was taking place, his regrets might have been softened,

for though Plymouth of the Pilgrims soon ceased to be, the leaven that he and his earnest brethren brought to America and infused into the very bloodstream of the new nation, was destined to be one of the most influential factors in the composition of the American personality; in fact, one of the very foundation stones of the spirit of the United States, the spirit which, as empire traditionally makes its way westward, may eventually influence the whole world, yellow and black as well as white, to an even greater degree than seems possible today.

The final submergence of Plymouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony came very slowly. Even as late as 1687, when Sir Edmund Andros, as Governor General of the Dominion of New England, found time to institute the necessary legal steps to abolish the last shreds of Plymouth's independence and make its government his own responsibility, Plymouth was still sturdily managing its own affairs.

And, practically, Andros' action made little actual difference, for the move of the Governor General was merely a legal and paper act and was not physically enforced in anything that mattered. Nathaniel Clark did obtain the gift of the Island which now bears his name from Andros, but in the main the Englishman was too busy to bother himself greatly over little Plymouth. When Andros was imprisoned in Boston on the news of the Revolution in England, Clark lost all his influence in Plymouth, Hinckley, the old power, stepped back and things returned to the same condition as before.

Hinckley, of course, as did the other leaders of Plymouth, saw that Plymouth could not much longer remain free from Boston's apron strings, and when in 1691 the Massachusetts Charter came from William III, he could see no course other than submission. It is also possible that, since the annexation of Plymouth to either Boston or Providence could not long be prevented, Plymouth having no choice, voted to unite with Boston as the lesser of two evils. Indeed, Plymouth never had a *legal* government in the sense of an incorporation—never had a *royal* charter. Hence in 1691 it was naturally included in the second Charter of Massachusetts.

So, in 1691, there was hardly a ripple when Plymouth merged into Boston. It simply became a town in the Massachusetts Town System, and merely sent its deputies to sit in Boston instead of keeping them at home. Really, also, the local self-government was not disturbed in the least by the change. Furthermore, Plymouth in itself was without leadership of importance; it did not number among its citizens a group of intellectual and political geniuses capable of providing an administration as able as that Boston possessed.

While it might be thought that submergence into Massachusetts would upset the Pilgrim Church, such was far from the fact, for the Church was placed in a stronger position than it might otherwise have enjoyed. If Plymouth had remained independent, it might have drawn down upon its Church the thunder of the Church of England, but with the protection of the strong Boston citizenry it could not be attacked without a general undertaking being made against Puritanism itself, and this was patently impossible.

As regards conflict with Boston itself over religious matters, that, too, was absurd, for the doctrinal differences between the Pilgrim Church and the Puritans from the very first were extremely slight, and time had dulled what few sharp edges did exist almost a century before.

Probably the whole matter of the submergence of Plymouth into Massachusetts Bay Colony can best be described by stating that there was no real taking over of either interests or rights. Plymouth simply grew up side by side with Boston and they were each absorbed into the other.

Possibly the most important fact which emerged from the union was that the Church lost its control of civil matters, which, at first at least, was absolute. The only reason for the Church ever being paramount was that it was desired that there should be absolute freedom of conscience and the right to worship as one pleased (provided it was not contrary to what the majority wished). This right, this freedom, was definitely established as far as both Pilgrim and Puritan were concerned and thus the Church began to grow less and less important as it became increasingly obvious that civil matters could be cared for on the basis of temporal and expedient criteria without any Church questions being involved whatsoever.

Another important result of the union was that the ideals of the Pilgrims became entrenched, not in a little village, but in a great Commonwealth which was destined to mother a nation. The candle they had lighted and hid under a bushel was exalted and placed upon a hill. The Pilgrim tradition was deprived of localism, surely, but it was made national.

Really, today, the influence of the Pilgrim is not important in Plymouth; it is a mere historical stock in trade offered for sale to thronging tourists. The Pilgrim lives today on Beacon Hill in Boston and upon Capitol Hill in Washington. There Bradford and the rest walk and hold the pen which writes the laws, not of a few hundred folk but of a hundred and thirty odd millions.

CHAPTER VII

The Puritans

EARLY SETTLEMENTS ABOUT BOSTON

Contrary to common opinion, the Puritans were far from being the first folks to settle Boston. They did found the present city, but the area was settled long before they left England.

Captain John Smith undoubtedly visited Boston Harbor in 1614 and explored it, paying particular attention to the southern part—the present Weymouth and Quincy. In September, 1621, Miles Standish and ten men from Plymouth anchored off what is now Thompson's Island, named it Trevours' Island and later visited the area now called Charlestown and East Boston.

Both Weston and Gorges settled in Weymouth, though both were unfortunate. However, when their colonies broke up, all the members did not return to England or move to either Plymouth or Virginia. One of these, William Blackstone, built a house and planted an orchard on the banks of the Charles River, on the side of Shawmut Hill. When Governor Winthrop came, he found Blackstone's apple trees bearing fruit. The Puritans thought much of the man, but Blackstone did not value the Puritans very highly for, in 1635, he deserted Boston and founded a settlement in that part of Rehoboth which is now Cumberland, Rhode Island. It is alleged that, when he left Boston, he addressed Governor Winthrop as follows: "I came from England because I did not like the Lord Bishops, but I cannot join with you because I would not be under the Lord Brethren." Blackstone must have been an independent character, one who preferred the peace of the wilderness and the freedom of savage life to the comforts and restrictions of civilization. When he died in 1675, the tide of settlement was again inching to his cabin and it is said that his age and infirmity had alone kept him in Rehoboth for the few years preceding his death, and that he had longed once again to remove even deeper into the wilderness.

Thomas Walford, a blacksmith, who probably came with Gorges, moved from Weymouth to a site near the mouth of the Mystic, somewhere in the present section of Charlestown, and was well estab-

lished there in 1629 when the Puritans came. Somehow, he also did not find the newcomers acceptable and bickered with them for some years. Once, for alleged "contempt of authority and for confronting officers," he was fined—which fine he promptly paid by the killing of a wolf. September 3, 1633, all his property was sequestered for debts. Later he moved to New Hampshire.

The outstanding early settler of Boston was Samuel Maverick, son of Rev. John Maverick. The father came to Boston in 1630 and settled in Dorchester, where he spent his life, "a man of humble spirit and faithful in furthering the work of the Lord . . . both in the churches and civil state." Son Samuel did not enjoy such a high regard; in fact, he was always at odds with Winthrop and the rest.

In 1624, at the age of 22, accompanied by his nineteen or twenty year old wife, he settled in Winnissemet, the present area occupied by Chelsea, Revere and Winthrop. A few years later, he moved over to Noddle's Island, now East Boston, where he occupied himself busily with being a man of affairs,—a trader, a fisherman, a merchant and a farmer. When a pestilence afflicted the Indians, he is credited with doing a great deal in helping them. But as soon as the Puritans came, he fell upon evil days. Despite his wealth and position, despite his friendship with the Indians and his consequent great value to the new town, Boston would have little or nothing to do with him. The reason seems to have been that he was very liberal and believed in living joyously and in entertaining all the visitors to Boston in a lordly manner. One visitor, who may have found his entertainment pleasant, Captain Edward Johson, writes of Samuel, "a man of very loving and courteous behavior, ever ready to entertain strangers yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand being strongly in the Lordly Prelatial power." So, in 1634, Maverick sold all his land in Winnissemet and in 1649, even with Boston harbor between him and Winthrop, he sold all his holdings on Noddle's Island and removed to New York. There he became a prominent citizen, being one of the Commissioners of King Charles in 1664.

Among other settlements made in or near Boston, two are prominent. In 1622, a fishing and trading post was established at Nantasket by Thomas Gray, who purchased land from the Indian sachem Chikataubut. Gray came from Plymouth, together with John Gray and Walter Knight, as they did not find the Plymouth Church comfortable. Shortly, they were joined by Roger Conant, John Oldham and Rev. John Lyford, the latter two being expelled from Plymouth. In 1625, Nantasket was broken up, most of the colonists removing to Cape Anne, where a settlement had been made by the Dorchester Company.

The other settlement was that on Thompson's Island and nearby Squantum. David Thompson came from England with his wife and a number of servants in 1623, settling first near Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but moving in 1626 to the Island in Boston Bay which now bears his name.

One other settlement of importance was that of Captain Wollaston, who founded and gave his name to a section of the present city of Quincy. Of the Captain, we know but little; he stayed but a short time in Boston and then sailed away into oblivion, via Virginia.

Of the forty-odd men who came with him, only one is known to history; that one is the robust Thomas Morton. He came to Massachusetts with but two aims, pleasure and profit. Of the last, he had but little; of the first very much. Most of the information concerning him comes from his own writings, which paint the man as a boisterous creature with a sincere appreciation of the beauty of the fields and woods and waters which, in those days, must have made Boston Bay one of the most pleasant places on the face of the earth.

Very soon, his pleasures drew upon him the censure of Plymouth. Bradford wrote of him, "They set up a May pole, drinking and dancing about it for many days together, inviting the Indian women for their consorts, dancing and frisking together (like so many fairies or fruies rather) and worse practices. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of the Roman Goddess Flora, or rather the beastly practices of the mad Bacchinalians."

As long as Morton, self-styled "Mine Host of Merre Mount," was content with these amusements, there was little for the Pilgrims to do but to content themselves with verbal remonstrances and scandalized criticism. But they could not countenance Morton's trading practices. Of his business transactions, Morton's writings are silent but the Pilgrims, undoubtedly with reason, alleged that he was providing the Indians with the two things they most desired, "fire-arms and fire-water." This was a serious business, actually placing the handful of settlers along the coast in peril.

Accordingly, in 1628, the heads of the various plantations met to consider the situation. In addition to Plymouth, men attended from Salem and from the various establishments about Boston Bay. They soon decided to send a messenger to Morton, requesting him to behave himself. Morton treated the messenger lightly and redoubled his obnoxious practices. This proved to the meeting that there was but one remedy left to them—the use of force.

So, shortly, Plymouth's Miles Standish was put in command of a force of men and ordered to "cleanse" Merry Mount and make it

"decent." Morton was arrested and confined upon the Isles of Shoals, off the New Hampshire coast and, a month or so later, was sent home to England, where he vented his feelings in writing a little book in which he set forth the merits of his case and painted his persecutors in as unflattering colors as he could devise.

This all happened early in 1628. Later that year, Governor John Endicott, who had arrived in Salem in 1628, came to Boston. Listening to the gay story of Merry Mount, he became gravely concerned over the conditions still enduring there, despite the expulsion of Morton, and determined to visit the town. There, in force, he hewed down the new Maypole, which Morton's men had raised, and delivered a violent sermon to the terrified folk upon the evil of their ways. This ended the Quincy Merry Mount. It is popular to cite the case as an example of Puritan sternness and dreariness but it is evident that, aside from moral questions, the economic justification for the breaking up of Wollaston was ample.

Shortly before the Puritans came in force, there was a final individual settlement made in 1629. First landing at Salem but enamoured of the beauty of Boston Bay, the three brothers Sprague pushed through the woods from Salem and settled on the north side of the Charles River in present Charlestown, where they bought land from Sagamore John, Indian chief of the district, and began to quarrel with the original settler, Thomas Walford. The Spragues were soon followed from Salem by a large group and the settlement of Boston by the Puritans was under way.

BEGINNING OF THE BAY COLONY

If it were religious differences which led directly to the foundation of Plymouth, it was fish as well as religion that brought Boston into being.

For many years, English merchants had been busy reaping the harvest of New England waters. The season ran from late February to June; vessels left England in January and did not arrive back until September or October. Thus, most of the year was consumed in order that a few months of fishing could be followed. This cut down profits on capital tied up in ships and wages and the overhead was further increased by the fact that, in order to make certain in the short season of filling a ship with fish, it was necessary to carry a larger number of men than was needed with even normal luck.

Accordingly, the fishermen planned to reduce their expenses by establishing a plantation on the coast near the fishing grounds, where the surplus of men could engage in trading or agriculture, when neither

fishing or curing fish, and also cut down expenses by spending the winter months of idleness in hunting and fishing and making lumber and spars and other products for sale at home. And, of course, there was also the expectation of making a large profit by trading with the Indians for furs.

In 1623, some merchants of Dorchester, England, banded together and subscribed some three thousand pounds for the establishment of such a trading and fishing station and made arrangements with the Plymouth Company for land near or at the present Gloucester. In 1624, under the leadership of Thomas Gardner, as overseer, and John Tilley, as fishing master, the Dorchester Company sent out a ship, which, after spending the season in fishing, landed fourteen men at Cape Anne and sailed home. During the winter, the fourteen built themselves a house and erected a salt factory and frames for curing fish.

The next year, the Company invited Roger Conant and Rev. John Lyford, who had left Plymouth and were living at Nantasket, to come and take charge of the new plantation. They arrived early in 1625. That year, two fishing vessels belonging to the Company left thirty-two men, and the following year, the Company sent over cattle and provisions.

But the venture was not successful. Agriculturally, it was hopeless, for the soil was poor and the would-be farmers discovered that the very time they should be planting their seed and nursing their crops was the time that the Company expected them to be engaged in fishing. Also, many of the men the Company sent over were not fitted for shore-life and caused difficulties. And, further, the Company discovered that expected profits from the trading and other side-lines were less than would have been gained from straight fishing. Thus the Dorchester Company became discouraged and closed its books. It paid everyone all wages due and offered transportation home to all who wished it.

Conant decided to remain and influenced many of his men to stay with him. Recognizing that Gloucester was not at the time well-suited to a self-supporting plantation, Conant scouted around and pitched upon Naumkeag, the present Salem, as a "pleasant and fruitful place." In 1626, he moved there, built houses and placed under cultivation as much land as the men and tools available made possible.

Rev. John White, of Dorchester, who was one of the most interested members of the English Company in Dorchester, did not lose his concern over the fortunes of the plantation when the Company shut up shop but wrote to Conant, urging him not to "desert the business" and promising that he would send over a patent as well as

men and provisions and trade goods with which to relieve the Indians of their furs. Rev. Mr. White was as good as his word. He rekindled the interest of other members of the Dorchester Company, praised Conant's new location at Salem, and persuaded them to raise capital in London and to send over a load of cattle to encourage the infant settlement.

The renewed activity caused other men in England to consider immigrating and a number of them soon requested the Company to send them over as colonists. Among them was John Endicott, who was well known and considered by the Company to be an ideal man to send over to take charge of their business.

But first legal authority had to be obtained and this the Rev. Mr. White and his associates readily obtained from "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America." (This Council is usually known as the Council for New England.) The patent thus granted gave the Dorchester group territory bounded northerly by a line three miles north of the Merrimack River, southerly by a line three miles south of the Charles River, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or the South Sea, as it was then thought to be.

This patent, of which no copy is known to exist, let alone the original, had a very confused base. It derived from the 1606 charter, granted by King James to the North Virginia or Plymouth Company, and its successor, the charter of 1620, obtained through the efforts of Gorges and Mason. But other grants had been made to John Oldham, John Dorell, and others, and in addition John Gorges had inherited, from his brother Robert Gorges, the original Gorges' grant, which inheritance had been in part given to Sir William Bereton. Thus, at the time, the Dorchester Company and Sir Henry Roswell were given the land between the Merrimack and the Charles, Sir William Bereton believed he owned the land between the Charles and Nahant, while John Oldham and John Dorell thought they owned a slice between the same Charles and the present Saugus river, then known as the Abousett. These conflicting claims, naturally, were the cause of much trouble as soon as settlement was begun in earnest.

But Rev. Mr. White, Sir Henry Roswell and the rest were well content with the legality of their patent, and fitted Endicott out with the ship *Abigail* and sent him off in May 1628 with a company of colonists and servants. The *Abigail* arrived September 6th. How many were aboard is not known. Estimates run from thirty to sixty; the names of but eight are recorded.

Of course, Conant and his men did not like the new arrivals with

authority to supersede Conant in governing the plantation. They, considered, rightly enough, that they had been treated unfairly and that the Dorchester Company sought to make slaves or mere tenants out of them. However, Conant was even-tempered about the matter and through his prudence and moderation, an understanding was reached with Endicott and the town of Salem harmoniously established. Conant and others were given land but Rev. Mr. White removed to Virginia.

Soon after landing, Endicott sent a company to Gloucester to take down and bring to Salem the frame house erected there several years



ORDINATION OF REV. THOMAS CARTER, FIRST MINISTER IN WOBURN, 1642

before, and he also sent a second party to Boston to take possession of that valuable site. The party found Thomas Walford there but made no bones of settling down and establishing themselves.

Back in England, the Company was attracting a great deal of attention and support. Its patent gave it territory which was seen to be of the utmost value, both politically and economically, and the enterprise grew like the proverbial snowball rolling down hill. But the questionable legal status of the Company was a difficulty in the way of further expansion. So the bold idea was conceived of obtaining from the King a brand new deal which would give them not merely legal possession of the land but also the powers of government necessary as soon as the Colony grew to any size.

A more propitious moment could not have been selected for the attempt. Charles was in desperate need of money and the Company had abundant resources. So, shortly, on March 4, 1629, a brand new charter was obtained which bestowed both land and the coveted authority to govern in the King's name.

Meanwhile, confident of their ability to obtain the charter, great preparations were underway for a huge migration in the spring. Letters, sent to Endicott, said that contracts had been made with both mechanics and clergymen to go over, that two ships had been bought and two others chartered, and that between two and three hundred persons were prepared to go, together with a hundred head of cattle.

Endicott was accordingly requested to have houses built in as large numbers as possible and to have prepared, in readiness to load the ships for the return voyage, as much beaver (skins), sumac, sassafras, sarsaparilla and other herbs suitable for dyeing or for medicinal purposes as he could gather. If enough such could not be obtained, he was then directed to prepare lumber and fish to make certain of full cargoes.

The letters further enjoined him to remember that the main object of the plantation was to endeavor to bring to the Indians the knowledge of the Gospel, that he was to treat the Indians justly and courteously and to educate their children. Or at least, that is what some of the letters requested Endicott to do. However, an official letter from the Company, dated April 17, 1629 (O. S.) after describing the new charter and their delight in it, says that, as for the propagation of the Gospel, they had made a "plentiful provision of godly ministers," possibly intimating that as governor of the Colony, Endicott might be excused from concerning himself with religious matters to the exclusion of economic and political considerations.

Interestingly enough, after relating the legal status of the conflicting grants held by John Dorell and John Oldham, which grants "They held void in law," the Company enjoined Endicott "to prevent the men from taking possession." The letters stated that Oldham was "an unfit man to deal with." Since, the letter continued, "the mischief must be suppressed before it makes too great a head," if Oldham and his associates should attempt a settlement, as it was rumored they were considering, Endicott was to take a temperate course if possible but, if necessary, a more severe one; he was to deal with the interlopers, at his discretion, as he should "think fittest for the general good and safety of the plantation and preservation of our privileges."

To further consolidate the Company's position, the letters finally directed Endicott to set about the immediate settlement of Boston and to encourage all the newcomers to settle there "with all speed."

Interestingly enough, in conclusion, after dealing with multitudes of other matters, the letters directed Endicott to purchase land from any Indians who claimed to have title to it, so that "we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." The final item was concerned with the observance of Sunday: "And to the end the Sabbath may be celebrated in a religious manner, we appoint, that all that inhabit the plantation, both for the general and particular employments, may surcease their labour every Saturday throughout the year at three of the clock in the afternoon, and that they spend the rest of that day in catechising and preparation for the Sabbath, as the minister shall direct."

Another letter, dated May 28, 1629, dealt with the allotment of land, providing that two hundred acres be given to each adventurer who had contributed fifty pounds (about 350 pounds today) to the common stock, and at the same rate for additional contributions, plus fifty acres for each person sent over by an adventurer at his own cost, servants as well as any other, title to the adventurer, and fifty acres further to any person who shall transport himself and family. All conveyances to be made in the name of and under the seal of the Company.

Once the business of the charter had been accomplished, there was nothing to prevent the tide of migration from setting in and the first ship, the *George Bonaventure*, three hundred tons, carrying fifty-two planters, cattle and provisions, left England about the 15th of April and arrived at Salem June 22nd. She was followed by the ship, *Talbot*, three hundred tons, with more than one hundred planters, guns and munitions, goats and other provisions, and the ship *Lion's Whelp*, one hundred twenty tons, with some fifty planters. They sailed April 25th; arriving at Salem June 29th. These three ships were shortly followed by the three ships, *Four Sisters*, *Pilgrim*, and *Mayflower*—the last being the famous vessel which transported the Pilgrims in 1620.

The company arriving in the *George Bonaventure*, in accordance with instructions, immediately went south to Charlestown and were shortly followed by other new arrivals. Houses were built, streets laid out and Boston firmly established. Francis Higginson, who came over with his family in the *Talbot*, wrote home shortly, "When we first came to Na-humkek, we found about a half score of houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor. There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Na-humkek, now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Cherton, or Charlestown."

Samuel Skelton, one of the leaders, who arrived with his family

in the *George Bonaventure*, was disturbed to find the colony without a regular minister, Lyford having left for Virginia. So, with the aid of Higginson, he proceeded, under the approval of most of the body of planters, so far as can be gathered, to establish a church organization and government entirely independent of the Church of England.

This was a tremendously important step for it created the Congregational Church and removed forever all danger of domination by the established Church of England. Possibly, Skelton and Higginson had this fact in mind, as well as their desire to provide a religious establishment immediately, for had they failed to move, or adopted, while waiting for a clergyman from England, any considerable part of the ritual or government of the established Church, they might very soon have found themselves welcoming an English delegate from the Bishop's Court, the Court of High Commission, and thus drawn upon themselves the hated forms and ceremonies of the English Church.

But the new Church made them masters of their own clergy and they lost no time in completing the undertaking. On July 20th, less than a month after the arrival of the last ships, Endicott ordered the day spent in fasting and prayer and the selection of a pastor and teacher. Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor and Mr. Higginson teacher. Mr. Skelton was then consecrated by the leading men of the company placing their hands upon him. He in turn, consecrated Mr. Higginson as his colleague by placing his hands upon the latter. On August 6th, a second day of prayer and fasting was observed for the selection of elders and deacons. Mr. Higginson had drawn up "a confession of faith and form of a church covenant according to the Scriptures." Towards the close of the day, he read his document which was solemnly assented to by the congregation. Thus was the Congregational Church founded and thus was Massachusetts freed from religious domination from England—although the Colony was far from being freed from religious strife, for no sooner was the Congregational Church founded than it was declared to be the Church of the Colony to the exclusion of all other religious organizations.

Naturally such an extreme and bold step raised the question of the legality of the action. Members of the plantation itself were opposed to it and two of them, John and Samuel Brown, were finally sent home because they talked too loudly in opposition to the new Church. Under the charter, however, there was nothing to forbid such action, as Charles knew, when he granted the charter, that the Puritans were non-conformists and that one purpose of their founding the Colony was to establish a place where they might worship God in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience. Charles knew of the action; the

return of the Browns caused talk from one end of the kingdom to the other, but Charles did nothing about the matter. Charles II, in 1662, did act in a sense against the Puritans, when, upon complaints from Church of England residents in Massachusetts that they were not allowed to worship separately by the Congregational Church, he wrote to the governor and required that liberty to worship as they pleased be given to Established Church members in the Colony. The King pointed out directly that this freedom was specifically understood in the charter, as "the principle and foundation of the charter was, and is, the freedom and liberty of conscience" and "liberty of conscience was made one of the principal motives for your first transportation into those parts." Thus, the Crown never quarreled with the act of founding an independent Church, but merely insisted, when the need arose, that everyone in the Colony, could worship as he pleased. This order for toleration, of course, was in direct contravention of all English precedents upon the subject.

Winthrop himself firmly believed that the Colony had every right to establish an independent Church, not only because of the absence of any royal edict to the contrary, but by the very principles of the Protestant Reformation. In fact, it has been alleged that the determination to have an independent Church in America was agreed upon secretly before the first Bay Colonists left England; the matter being kept quiet at the time for the sake of peace and harmony during the beginning of the migration and the founding of the Colony.

MEANTIME IN ENGLAND

While Endicott was busily engaged in fostering Boston, developing Salem and consolidating the position of the Company, in accordance with his letters of instructions, events were taking place back home which were to influence the settlement of the Bay Colony tremendously, events which caused the development to grow by leaps and bounds, so that within a few short years, instead of enjoying a slow growth such as characterized Plymouth, almost overnight, Boston was to become the chief community of English America.

The first of these events was the high and mighty attitude which King Charles chose to adopt in his attempt to master the English nation. As a result, the whole people of Britain were in a turmoil. Charles had acted for several years with a brazen disregard of public rights and liberties. He exacted money for his private affairs from citizens, under the pretense of obtaining loans. Stout hearts who declined to give him their money, he imprisoned and caused the Courts

to refuse to release them on habeas corpus pleas. He billeted soldiers in private homes, he instituted trials by martial law and he accomplished other acts by which he assumed absolute power.

In 1628, he called a meeting of Parliament, expecting to so intimidate it that it would bow to his command. But the House of Commons proved stubborn, and instead of granting Charles funds drew up a bill, called the Petition of Right, which protected persons arrested without legal cause. After much fulmination, Charles finally consented to the Petition, hoping by this "kindness" to persuade the Commons to get on with the chief job of providing him with money.

Accordingly, the Commons prepared a bill granting Charles the right to levy the duties known as tonnage and poundage. Charles had already levied these taxes, as he claimed they were his anyway because of established precedent. This the Commons forthwith denied, and before considering the tax bill, drew up a declaration which called upon the King to admit that the levying of poundage and tonnage not authorized by Parliament was a breach in the fundamental liberties of Great Britain. Before this declaration could be passed by the Commons, Charles anticipated the House by proroguing it. Then, when Charles discovered, as the Commons reassembled, that they were still determined to pass the declaration, he cut the Gordian knot by dissolving Parliament altogether.

This made him lord and master of civil matters and also of religious ones, which fact was particularly obnoxious, since Charles was determined to enforce the laws requiring conformation to the English Church, much more so than either Elizabeth or James was. Charles' Queen, who was a French Catholic, was able to move him enough to soften his attitude towards her fellow-religionists, but there was no one to intercede for the Puritans, who thus suffered the full force of the King's displeasure.

This loss of civil freedom and renewal of religious persecution naturally caused multitudes of Puritans to consider moving to Boston Bay and this inclination towards seeking freedom rapidly ripened into a determination to risk the hazard of migration as the Massachusetts Bay Charter was finally granted and its incorporators began to develop the large rights and privileges which the charter secured to them.

There was nothing timid or self-effacing about the new Bay Company; they knew they had a tremendously valuable patent and they set about their work of colonizing with all the very considerable ability and financial and political power they mustered.

It is well worth outlining these charter rights. The officers of the Company were to be a governor, deputy governor and a Court of

eighteen Assistants, to be chosen annually in the spring by the entire body of freemen of the Company, who were to be known as the General Court.

To the Governor and Company was given the right to admit as many freemen as they wished; to elect and constitute such officers as they desired for the ordering and managing of the Company; and, through the General Court, "to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the said Company and ordering of said lands and plantations, and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them from time to time shall be thought meet." Further, on this point, the charter authorized the General Court, "from time to time to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, statutes, and ordinances, directions and instructions, not contrary to the laws of this our realm of England, for the settling of the forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy there." And still further, to the officers was given "full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule the inhabitants according to the laws not repugnant to the laws of England . . . also, at any time, for their special defense and safety, to encounter, repulse, repel, and resist by force of arms, any who shall attempt the destruction, invasion, detriment and annoyance of the said plantation or inhabitants."

The charter also authorized the transportation by the Company of settlers, arms, ammunition, cattle and necessary goods and supplies for seven years without payment of duties or taxes and also, for twenty-one years, provided that there would be no import or export duties to or from England, or its dominions, excepting the usual five percent duties upon goods brought into England after seven years, "according to the ancient trade of merchants."

The charter appointed Mathew Craddock, governor; Thomas Goffe, deputy governor; and the following men to the Court of Assistants—Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Adams, John Brown, John Cook, John Endicott, John Humphrey, Isaac Johnson, Simeon Whitcomb, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vassall and William Pynchon.

With these large rights and powers, the Company was in fact entitled to establish in the new world, a government practically free from the tyranny of a money-grabbing and fanatical Stuart. Thus the weary body of non-conformists looked eagerly to see what the Company would make of its opportunity. The Puritans had not long to wait, for at its first meeting, May 13, 1629, the Company boldly proposed to

transfer the seat of its government from England to the Colony itself, three thousand salt miles beyond the reach of the Stuart.

This was a revolutionary step. Always before, in all colonizing activities, the Crown had insisted that the governing body of each colony remain in England, where, tacitly, it was under the thumb of the King. For the Puritans, who doubtless had many ideas and plans for freedom and prosperity with which they did not acquaint Charles, this would not do at all. They realized that their best opportunity for development lay in getting as far away from London as possible and so, at one stroke, they put the Atlantic between Charles and themselves.

The matter was put in formal shape at the July 13th meeting of the Company, by Governor Craddock, who read a proposal as follows: "That for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, to transfer the government of the plantation to those who shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the Company here, as now is." This proposal was prepared by an eminent attorney, John White, who advised the Company that the transfer was legal—as, despite the storm of envious criticism which arose, it evidently was, for jealous Charles made no essay to interfere.¹

At this same meeting, which was held in Cambridge, England, Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharpe, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pynchon and others signed formal papers, binding themselves to go to Massachusetts, provided the government was actually transferred.

Further meetings discussed the transfer, and but the formal transfer was made at the meeting of the General Court on October 20, 1629. At this time, John Winthrop was elected governor, John Humphrey was chosen deputy governor and the following to the Court of Assistants—Sir Richard Saltonstall, Samuel Aldersey, Thomas Adams, John Endicott, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pynchon, Samuel and Thomas Sharpe, Mathew Craddock, John Revell, Thomas Goffe, Theophilus Eaton, John Venn and Nathaniel Wright.

The news of the transfer removed the last barrier to a widespread and enthusiastic migration, and through the fall and winter the Court of Assistants was busy not only preparing personal details of transplanting their own families but also arranging the tremendous business of preparing for the flood of folks who signed up to go with them. As the hour neared, Humphrey, Samuel Sharpe, Wright, Eaton and

Note 1. The Charter inadvertently omitted requirement that Company have seat in London.

Goffe resigned. Thomas Dudley was elected deputy governor and Simeon Bradstreet, William Coddington, Sir Bryan Jansen and Roger Ludlow were elected to the Court of Assistants to replace them.

By April, 1630, everything was in readiness for the great migration, probably the largest which ever left England for New England. The ship *Lion*, with about eighty colonists left first and arrived in Salem from Bristol early in May. The *Mary and John*, four hundred tons, left Plymouth on March 20th, with some hundred and fifty passengers, and arrived at Nantasket at the end of May, the entire company settling in the area which is now Dorchester. On March 29th the *Arbella*, *Talbot*, *Ambrose* and *Jewell* left Cowes, but, putting into Yarmouth because of head winds, were delayed until April 8th. The balance of the fleet, the *Charles*, *Mayflower*, *William and Francis*, *Hopewell*, *Whale*, *Success* and *Trial* followed shortly. The *Arbella* and *Jewell* arrived at Salem Saturday, June 12 (O. S.) and were followed within a month by the rest. In all, it is estimated that about fifteen hundred colonists came over.

The day before Winthrop left England, it was thought necessary to make an address, as a sort of leave-taking, in which the criticism of Salem current in England over the founding of the Congregational Church and the expulsion of the Browns could be alleviated. Winthrop, accordingly, made the following address, care being taken by the Company to have it circulated throughout England:

“. . . Yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the *principals* and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received it in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds, in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus. . . . You are not ignorant that the spirit of God stirred up the apostle Paul to make continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome; let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, who are a weak colony from yourselves, making continual requests for us to God in all your prayers.”

WINTHROP IN COMMAND

If Plymouth had its Bradford, Boston had an even greater leader in John Winthrop and, although Boston was far surer of success than was Plymouth, thanks to the fact that the Boston folk were generally men of means, education and position, the rapid growth and development of the Bay Colony was certainly largely due to the wise leadership of Winthrop. Thanks to the fact that he began a diurnal record of his charge from the day the *Arbella* sailed from the Isle of Wight, and continued it for many years, not only do we have a faithful record of the day-by-day life of the Colony, but we have a document through which the real personality of a great man can be observed.

His sense of historical values was not good—he wrote down impartially events of great and small importance, being as much concerned with the burning of a haystack as with the execution of Billington for murder. But he was conscious that he was leading the establishment of an empire and his words are always grave and considered, and frequently he strikes out a few phrases which are of eternal value, as, when he was on trial for alleged misuse of his authority, he, in his defense, found it necessary to state his conception of liberty as being “. . . to do that only which is good, just and honest—maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority, instead of doing what is good in your own eyes.”

In his letters, his personality shines out even more clearly. Witness, these to his wife:

“. . . I thank thee for thy kinde lettres. But I knowe not what to saye for myself. I should mende and prove a better husband, havinge the helpe and example of so good a wife; but I growe still worse. I was wonte heretofore, when I was longe absent, to make some supplye with volumes of lettres; but now I can scarce afforde thee a few lines. Well, there is no helpe but by enlarging thy patience, and strengtheninge thy good opinion of him who loves thee as his owne soul and should count it his greatest affliction to live without thee. . . . So I kiss my sweet wife and rest

They faithful husband

JO. WINTHROP.”

And again, on shipboard en route to Boston, to his wife home in England:

“. . . And now, my sweet soul, . . . it goeth very near to my heart to leave thee; but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to him who loves thee much better than any husband can . . . who can, and, if it be for his glory, will bring us together again with peace and

comfort. Oh, how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living,—that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in and beheld with such great content! . . . I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me; but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays, at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God that we are assured we shall meet one day, in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in my arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell.

Thine wheresoever

JO. WINTHROP."

And this is Winthrop, the man some writers have held up as the epitome of the stern, sour creatures they imagine the Puritans to have been.

Immediately upon arrival, Winthrop took up the reins of government and found plenty with which to occupy himself, for he found Salem in serious straits. Some eighty of the earlier charges of Endicott had died and others were very ill and the stock of provisions was so very low that strict rationing was necessary.

Notwithstanding all this, Winthrop at once set about colonizing Boston, or Massachusetts, as the Salem folk called it. Less than a week after he arrived, he visited Charlestown to examine the ground and, after being entertained by Maverick, returned to Salem and sent back another party and followed them with several hundred colonists within a month, settling himself at Charlestown.

But the new colony was not happy. Sickness scourged them to such an extent that nearly two hundred men and women died and considerable parties left Charlestown and struck off for themselves. Thus Saltonstall removed to Watertown, Pyncheon to Roxbury, while still other parties founded Medford, Lynn, Mattapan and Wollaston.

As the cargoes of the various vessels were unloaded and checked, it was discovered that a great portion of the food supplies had been spoiled. Thus, starvation threatened. Winthrop at once ordered the *Lion* home for supplies and, although one hundred colonists seized this opportunity to abandon their enterprise and sailed home, the great body remained stoutly behind Winthrop.

In August, Isaac Johnson crossed the Mystic from Charlestown

and started a house on his land at the site of the present Boston City Hall. But within a month he died, and according to his wish was buried on the upper end of his lot, thus creating the first cemetery in Boston. This site is now King's Chapel Burial Ground, but nothing



WILLIAM PYNCHON

marks the grave of Johnson. His wife, the Lady Arabella, died at Salem, earlier.

Soon after, Winthrop decided that Boston was much better as a town site than Charlestown, possibly because of the great spring—now sealed under tons of masonry just south of the Federal Building. At any event, in October or November, he, with Dudley and a large part of the Charlestown Colony, moved over and erected houses on the little group of hills which is now Boston proper.

Rev. Mr. Wilson and Rev. Mr. Phillips, the two clergymen at Boston, were soon installed in their posts. They were ordained with the same simple ceremonies as had been originated at Salem. Winthrop, writing of the ordination, remarks, "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

At the first meeting of the Court of Assistants, held at Charlestown, August 23rd, one of the major matters of business was to provide for these ministers. It was ordered that houses should be speedily built for both, one at Charlestown for Mr. Wilson, which Winthrop undertook, and one for Mr. Phillips at Watertown, which Saltonstall was made responsible for. It was also provided that for maintenance each minister should have the choice between forty pounds per annum or three hogsheads of meal, one hogshead of malt, four bushels of corn, one bushel of oatmeal, fifty pounds of salt fish and twenty pounds for clothes and other provisions. These charges were to be upon the entire colony, "Mattapan and Salem only exempted."

Arrangements are also made for the support by the colony of the doctor, Mr. Gager, and of James Penn, beadle, whose duty it was to wait upon the governor and to execute his public commands. Justices of the peace were also appointed, procedures laid down for civil actions, wages of labor were established and the business of the colony well formulated.

At the September meeting of the Assistants, Thomas Morton was ordered set in the bilboes and afterwards sent home with all his property seized to satisfy his debts and to give "satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe which he unjustly took from them." It was also ordered that his house should be burned in sight of the Indians so that they might have evidence that he was being punished for the wrongs he had committed. At another meeting, the liquor supply of Richard Clough was ordered seized on the ground that he had occasioned disorder by selling it to servants.

The first quarter session of the General Court was held at Boston October 19th and the leaders were alarmed when one hundred and nine persons applied for admission as freemen. Since the charter gave to the freemen of the colony the power of self-government, through the election of officers, the powers in control were naturally opposed to admitting voters who might upset things. This fear was natural enough, for being so far from the law and order of home and utterly dependent upon themselves, the original body of freemen had no reason to trust and many reasons to fear the condition which might come about if

freemen were admitted to membership in large numbers. So none was admitted.

The winter which now fell upon them, proved to be very severe, and, crowded as the company must have been in the few, rude, inadequate dwellings, suffering doubtless was great. To add to the misery, provisions ran low and along in January many of the company subsisted upon clams and other shell-fish with bread made out of acorns. Winthrop caused February 6th to be appointed a Fast Day but, on the fifth, the ship *Lion*, which Winthrop in the fall had sent home for provisions, arrived, deeply laden. So instead of the 6th being a fast day, it became instead a day of thanksgiving.

Early in the spring, Winthrop turned his attention to providing adequate housing. He and Dudley commenced to build houses for themselves at Cambridge, but the folk settled in Boston were so disturbed at losing the leadership of Winthrop that they prevailed upon him to build his house instead in Boston. This brought about ill-feeling between Dudley and Winthrop, for the former claimed that Winthrop had broken his promise to live near him in Cambridge. The difficulty ripened in Dudley's resigning from office.

The first session of the General Court for the election of officers was held at Boston on May 18th, 1631 (O. S.). This time, one hundred and sixteen freemen, who had been turned down in the fall, were accepted, probably after the business of the meeting was concluded, so that they were not able to upset the program laid out by the Court of Assistants. Winthrop was chosen Governor and Dudley deputy, again, despite the ill-feeling between them.

Much of the business of the meeting was directed by the Court of Assistants to maintain themselves securely in office. They secured themselves free from disturbance in effect and allowed merely that they could be removed only because of misbehavior. They also consolidated their position by providing that no man could be chosen for any office unless he was a freeman. More important still, they ordered "And to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was likewise . . . agreed that for time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." And that there might be no possible loophole, the Court declared that, of these churches, it would not approve of any church, unless it had the approbation of the magistrates and the elders of the majority of the churches within the colony, and the Court specifically stated "that no man being a member of any church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates and the greater

part of the said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth."

In the May, 1632, meeting of the General Court, however, the Court of Assistants did not have everything its own way. Troubles, many concerned with the freedom with which the Court had levied taxes for fortifications and other purposes, had alarmed the body of the colony and a large number of them determined that the powers of the Governor and of the Court must be curtailed.

Through all the difficult time of hunger and cold and sickness, Winthrop had been a tower of strength; even aiding out of his own purse folks who were hungry and ill provided for. Thus there was no feeling whatever against Winthrop personally; they simply took the position that the manner in which the Commonwealth was being governed was establishing a precedent which, if logically developed, would create virtual slavery for all but the very few in position.

Evidently the Court agreed with this view for, by a show of hands, it was voted that the governor, deputy governor and the Assistants, as well as freemen, should be chosen by the whole Court. This concession satisfied the body of freemen comprising the Court and they forthwith reelected "the governor and all the rest as before."

More important still was the beginning of popular representation, the present double house which comprises the modern General Court. The problem of taxes levied without the consent of the people, however necessary they might be, bothered the Court of Assistants as well as the folks who had to pay the taxes and, accordingly, the Court wisely granted concessions to popular feeling, permitting the passage of an order "that there should be two of every plantation appointed to confer with the Court about the raising of a public stock." The purpose of this was to have representatives from the general body of freemen to advise with the Court of Assistants in the levying of taxes. This was in direct imitation of the English system in which the aristocracy was represented by one house and the common people by the other. Thus even so early in Boston the line between the two classes was drawn, although to begin with the Court of Assistants held all the power, being the sole judicial body. At this meeting Dudley submitted his resignation but it was declined and, according to Winthrop, a peace was patched up between them, "all things were carried very lovingly amongst all, and the people carried themselves with much silence and modesty."

Meanwhile, the settlement of the colony was proceeding. In 1631 and 1632, the number of immigrants barely equaled losses due to death and desertion but in 1633, as the prospects of the colony brightened, friends and members of separated families came over in large numbers.

Among them were John Haynes, "a gentleman of great estate," three ministers, Cotton, Hooker and Stone, and John Eliot, who settled as teacher at Roxbury, became interested in the welfare of the savages and shortly embarked upon his magnificent missionary work amongst them—the work which, earning him the title of "Apostle to the Indians," displays him as one of the most lovable men of whom America has to boast. In all, during the year, some seven hundred persons arrived.

This tide of immigration continued apace; during the warmer months of the next few years, there was hardly a week during which a ship failed to appear and more than once fourteen vessels dropped their anchors in the broad roads between Winthrop and Nantasket. Thus Boston's future was assured and Winthrop's work of founding and establishing the colony well started.

ROGER WILLIAMS

Religious difficulties continually plagued the colony from the very beginning. Not only did the business of having its own Church naturally hopelessly entangle civil and ecclesiastical government, but, being non-conformists by birth and nature, many of the members of the colony found it as hard to bow to the Congregational Church as they had found it to kneel to the Episcopal Church at home.

The outstanding example of the condition is Roger Williams. In 1631 Roger had been called to Salem as teacher to the church there. He was a radical separatist and had refused to join the church at Boston, where he had first settled. Thus, the Court of Assistants demanded that Endicott explain why Salem had welcomed a man Boston had been unable to look upon with favor and asked Salem to delay seating Williams until Boston was given the opportunity to go into the matter. Williams solved Endicott's embarrassment by leaving for Plymouth where he was welcomed and, as Bradford writes, "exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was admitted a member of the church; and his teaching well approved."

Boston had nothing to do with Plymouth legally and there the matter rested until in 1633 Williams returned to Salem as an assistant to Skelton and in 1634 was appointed to take Skelton's place, when that worthy minister died. This appointment was made without the consent or approval of the Court of Assistants, who forthwith acted by calling Williams to Boston and demanding that he explain a paper he had written at Plymouth, which, the Court alleged, would tend to unsettle the charter and to cause King Charles to become angered.

Williams was willing to explain his writing and offered to burn the writing. Thus the Court was satisfied.

But Williams was soon in hot water again. He persuaded Endicott to cut the red cross from the English flag, as being a symbol of Anti-christ. This, the Court feared, would be interpreted as an act of rebellion. The Court first considered Endicott and ordered him to be "sadly admonished for his offense." They declined to impose any heavier sentence "because," says Winthrop, "they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience and not of evil intent."

With Williams, however, they were not so lenient. In September he was haled before the Court and charged with "divers dangerous opinions." At first, Salem stood by Williams, and with this support he was able for two years to withstand the censure of the Boston Court. But in 1635, alarmed at Williams' stubbornness and the "waxing strength of his contrary opinions," the Court of Assistants ordered that he be immediately banished from Massachusetts. A plea of Williams' illness was entered and the Court gave him leave to remain in Salem for the winter, provided that he was "not to go about and draw others to his opinions."

The Court claimed that Williams' offense was that he "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates; and also writ letters of defamation both of the magistrates and churches here. . . ." But against these unfortunate doctrines Williams also vehemently maintained his ideal of freedom and liberty of conscience in religious matters. Undoubtedly Williams was somewhat flighty and erratic—but he was gracious in manner, kindly in purpose and sincere in his convictions; and the very light and charity of his liberal views were enough to ennoble the man. Thus, once the authorities had banished him, making him attractive through being under official displeasure, he drew about himself a few faithful friends, and, directly defying the Court, spent the winter holding religious services in his own house.

When Boston heard of this, the Court went into immediate session and ordered Williams to come to Boston instantly and sail for England in a ship which was about to leave for London. Williams replied that he could not risk the journey in mid-winter. Boston answered by dispatching a sloop to fetch him by water, but when the sloop arrived in Salem, Williams was not to be found.

He had been warned by friends and, wrapping his cloak about him, had fled into the safety of the mid-winter forest. Several friends, with whom he had planned to establish a new colony in Rhode Island, may have gone with him, but the probability seems to be that he fled

alone. Certainly, alone or not, he passed the bitter months of winter in the woods, living with Indians and isolated settlers who befriended him. By spring he had circled Boston and reached Rhode Island. First settling at Sowans, now Warren, he soon discovered that Plymouth laid claim to that district. So, in the summer of 1636, with five companions, he removed to what is now Providence. There as governor, he lived for forty-five years. "Blameless in his life, and austere just in his acts, bearing no malice towards those by whom he had been exiled, but desirous only of promoting the common welfare, he devoted himself to this humane purpose with the same ardour as he proclaimed and defended the peculiar tenets he had espoused."

THE COLONY DEFIES THE KING

Not only did the infant Commonwealth have its own civil and religious domestic difficulties but it was wracked with fear that the Crown was about to destroy its liberties. The year 1634 began this trouble with the Crown.

In 1633, Archbishop Abbot, of Canterbury, died. He was succeeded by Laud who at once made his power felt in the Privy Council. No man could have been more hateful to the Puritans. He was determined to persecute Non-Conformists without mercy. He said "that the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of." The great migration of 1633 drew his attention to Massachusetts in that among the immigrants were several persons who, by going, eluded the efforts of the Court of High Commission to place them under arrest. In June 1634, it is alleged, Laud attempted to stop ten ships, loaded with supplies and immigrants from leaving England for Boston but the ships were finally released upon Craddock's (as the English representative of the Colony), being instructed to have the Colony's charter returned to England.

Craddock duly wrote to Winthrop, requesting that the charter be sent to him so that he might deliver it to the Privy Council. The Court of Assistants received the letter with fear and trembling and went into long session. Finally, they determined to dodge the issue and "returned answer to Mr. Craddock, excusing that it could not be done but by a General Court, which was to beholden September next." With this reply went other letters to friends in London, requesting them to "mediate their peace." But, this was not all. In July, the Court with some ministers and other prominent folk, agreed to erect two "platforms and a small fortification" on Castle Island, to each personally contribute five pounds towards the expense until the tax to meet the cost could be laid at the next General Court in the fall.

But, Winthrop and the Court of Assistants were not to dispose of the problem so easily. In August, a letter was delivered to Winthrop from London which gave alleged information that the Privy Council had declared the Massachusetts Charter null and void and that the

THE
MERITORIOUS PRICE
 OF
 Our Redemption, Iustification, &c.
Cleering it from some common Errors ;
 And proving ,

Part I.

Part II.

1. That Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of Gods wrath, that commonly are called Hell-torments, to redeem our soules from them.
2. That Christ did not bear our sins by Gods imputation, and therefore he did not bear the curse of the Law for them.
3. That Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law (not by suffering the said curse for us, but) by a satisfactory price of attonement; viz. by paying or performing unto his Father that invaluable precious thing of his Mediatoriall obedience, wherof his Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement was the matter-piece.
4. A sinners righteousness or justification is explained, and cleered from some common Errors.

By *William Pinchin*, Gentleman, in New-England.

The Mediator saith thus to his Father in *Psalm 40.8, 10.*
I delight to do thy will O my God, yea thy Law is within my heart : (viz.) I delight to do thy will, or Law, as a Mediator.
I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy salvation: Namely, I have not hid thy righteousness, or thy way of making sinners righteous, but have declared it by the performance of my Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement, as the procuring cause of thy attonement, to the great Congregation for their everlasting righteousness.

L O N D O N ,

Printed by *J. M.* for *George Whittington*, and *James Moxon*, and are to be sold at the blue Anchor in Corn-hill neer the Royall Exchange. 1650.

TITLE PAGE OF "THE MERITORIOUS PRICE"

King had "reassumed the whole business into his hands, and given order for a general governor for the whole territory to be sent over."

This information caused the greatest commotion. The General Court was summoned to meet twice in September. Had the Court but known it, their alarm was needless but the fear they felt was of the gravest and they dealt with the situation as they believed it existed with the greatest firmness, a spirit which established an admirable precedent for the days of real danger in the next century.

In fact, the situation was a crisis of great importance. If they were to accept a governor general with unrestricted powers, the ruin of the colony could be expected and, at the best, the high ideals for which the colonists had dared the seas and suffered hunger and thirst and sorrow would be defeated. Yet, if they defied the King, they put a rope about their necks.

However, they were equal to the test; their metal rang true. While determined that they would do nothing which might tend to exasperate the King, they decided "to venture all, if driven to the necessity of defending their rights and liberties."

As a first step, the Court ordered the fortification of Castle Island as the key to Boston Harbor. Then other fortifications were ordered for Charlestown and for other points which the committee charged with the work should deem necessary. Taxes were laid upon all the plantations to pay for the work and each plantation was ordered to send proportionate numbers of workmen to build the forts. However, it was provided that if Salem should build fortifications which were deemed adequate by the Court, the taxes that town paid towards the fortifying of Castle Island, Charlestown and the rest, would be returned to them.

Each plantation was ordered to call out its train bands once a month and to train also all unskilled men as frequently as they pleased up to three days a week. "All muskets, bandeleroes and rests" were directed to be divided amongst the plantations and all members of the train bands, "soldiers, as well as pikemen and others," should be armed and provided with necessary equipment while the officers were given authority to impress men and carts for ordinary wages to make equipment for transporting ordnance. Salem, Ipswich and Saugus were given cannon and a general tax of six hundred pounds was laid to meet the costs.

And it was also ordered "that there shall be forthwith, a beacon set on the sentry hill at Boston, to give notice to the country of any danger, and that there shall be a ward of one person kept there . . . and that upon the discovery of any danger, the beacon shall be fired, an alarm given, as also messengers presently sent by that town, where the danger is discovered, to all other towns within this jurisdiction."

At a meeting of all the ministers of the Commonwealth, in January, Governor Winthrop put this question, "What we ought to do if a governor general should be sent out of England?" And Winthrop reports that the ministers "all agreed that if a governor general were sent, we ought not to accept him, but to defend our lawful possession (if we are able); otherwise to avoid or protract."

Thus did the colony prepare itself to defy the King. They hoped that by diplomatic measure they might avert rebellion and probably they were convinced that a mere show of force would be sufficient to change the King's purpose, for they well knew that events in England were ripening to revolution and that the most of Great Britain would be behind them if they chose to fight in defense of their chartered rights and liberties. But, whether this be true or not, it is evident that the colony was prepared to fight and that they determined that the whole man-power of the plantations would have to be smashed before a ship with a governor general would be permitted to land its forces at either Boston or Salem. In fact, on April 26, 1635, when fishermen brought in word that two large ships were "hovering off the coast," it was thought that the governor general had come and the alarm was sounded and the country raised. But the ships proved to be innocent fishermen and the men were ordered back to their homes.

INTERNAL REORGANIZATION

Not only did 1634 mark the first of more than a century of quarrels with the Crown, but it also marked the beginning of a long struggle between the Court of Assistants and the great body of freemen. Under the ruling of the General Court the year before, it is true, deputies had been appointed from each of the plantations to advise with the Court of Assistants in respect to tax levies.

This concession, great as it was, however, did not satisfy the folk for long and a great discontent developed through the belief that the Court of Assistants was assuming far larger powers than it was justified in doing. Thus, in the May meeting of the General Court, 1634, the representatives of the various towns, or plantations, assembled by themselves on the first day of the Court and came to a general agreement that the Charter gave the law making powers to the General Court and not to the Court of Assistants.

They carried this view into the General Court and demanded that Winthrop and the Court of Assistants consider the matter. Winthrop replied that, when the charter was written, it had been supposed that the body of freemen would be very much smaller than was the present case and could, being few, satisfactorily join in the making of laws but, being numerous, it was now inadvisable for the General Court so to function. Thus, he declared, the best interests of the colony would be served by limiting the number of law makers. However, he agreed that the function was not properly to be confined to the Court of Assistants and proposed that once each year, representatives should be

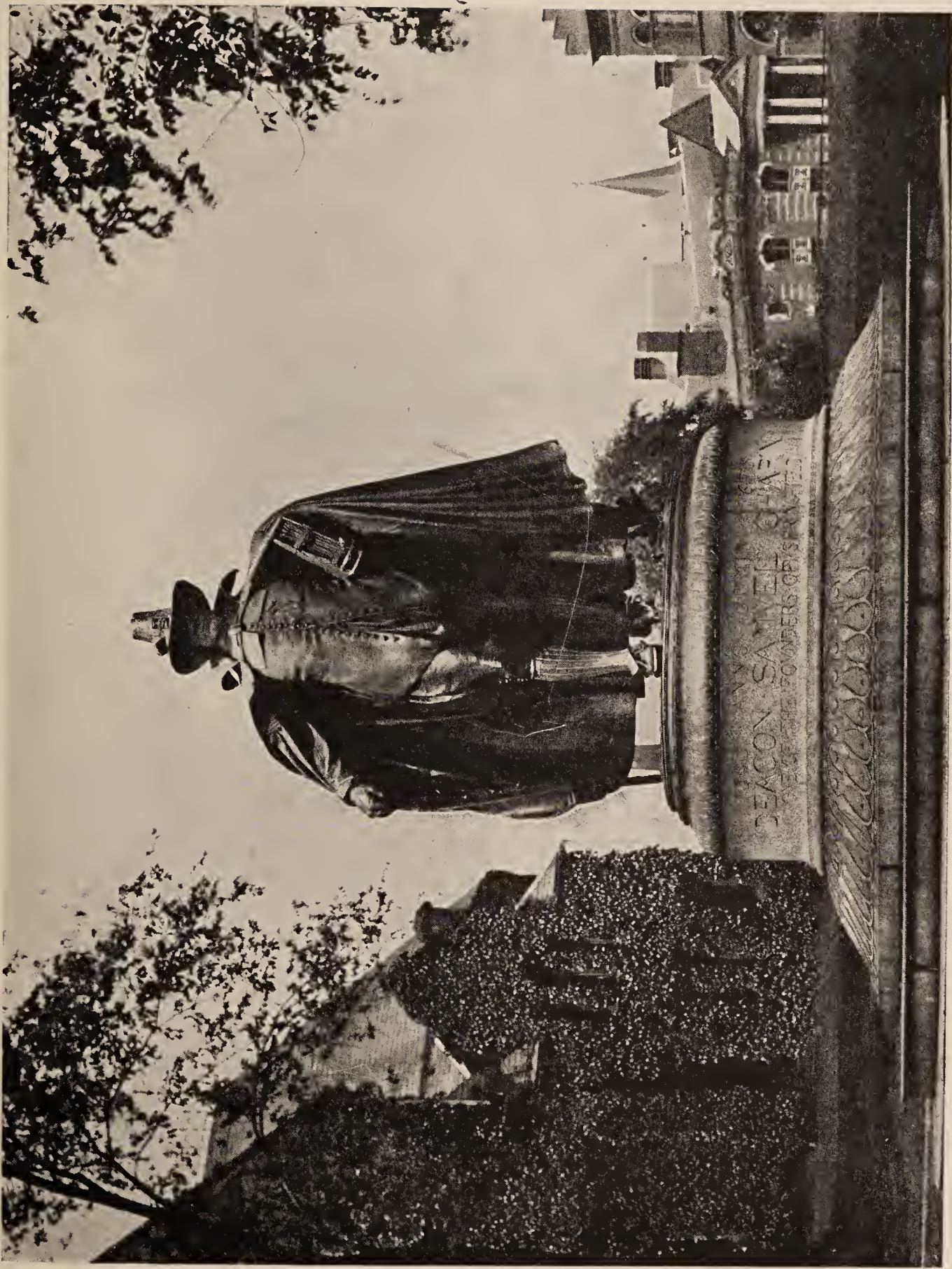
chosen by the Court to revise the laws and to confer with the Court of Assistants to the end that any abuses might be corrected.

This temporizing attitude did not satisfy the freemen and, notwithstanding the ardent support given to Winthrop by an election sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Cotton, they determined then and there to make a test of their powers under the charter by effecting a change in governmental officers. Thus, instead of proceeding to the election of officers by "rising of hands" as always before, they held the election by "papers." Surprisingly, this resulted in Winthrop being turned out and Dudley elected governor, Ludlow deputy governor and Coddington treasurer. This satisfied the insurgents who then re-elected the Court of Assistants practically without change, adding Winthrop to take Ludlow's place.

But the feeling against the Court of Assistants soon broke out again as some opposition was voiced to the admission of one hundred and six more freemen who, when admitted, made the total number three hundred and sixty six. As a result of this friction, the freemen succeeded in shearing the power of the admission of freemen from the Court of Assistants by providing that "none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen."

With the bit thus in their teeth, the freemen continued to wrest powers away from the Court of Assistants, and, when the smoke had cleared away, it was discovered that the General Court had obtained the power of making and establishing laws, electing, appointing and removing officers, raising money and levying taxes as well as being obliged to meet four times annually free from dissolution by the Governor. And it was still further arranged that the freemen of each town should choose two or three men to confer upon matters of interest in their respective towns, to present these matters to the General Court and to represent their towns in the General Court. Thus the freemen turned the tables on the Court of Assistants and sheared away some of the almost imperial power which the small group had arrogated "unto itself."

In the landslide, Winthrop did not escape unscathed. A committee was appointed to inquire into his handling of public money. Winthrop, without difficulty cleared himself of the implied charge of misbehavior and showed that he had expended large sums from his own pocket for the support of the colony, for which he had not been reimbursed. He closed his defense by saying, "In all these things, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost or labour bestowed in the service of this Commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord, our God, that He hath



ST. GAUDENS' PURITAN STATUE, SPRINGFIELD

Photo by Woodhead

pleased to honour me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his Church and people here, the prosperity whereof and His gracious acceptance shall be an abundant recompense to me. I conclude with this one request (which in justice may not be denied me), that as it stands upon record, that upon the discharge of my office, I was called to account, so this, my declaration, may be recorded also, lest hereafter when I shall be forgotten some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it."

(The General Court ordered that the request be granted, see *Mass. Records*, I., 130-132.)

The same session also passed a whimsical vote, fining the Court of Assistants ten pounds, for allegedly employing Indians to "shoot with pieces." As the fine was promptly remitted, this was but a gesture intended probably to further show the Court exactly where they stood in the opinion of the General Court.

At the next annual session, May 1635, the freemen maintained their victory, electing by "paper," John Haynes as governor and Richard Bellingham as deputy governor. All the assistants were re-elected save Endicott and Ludlow; Hough and Dummer were elected in their stead.

This session was also important in that it authorized the migration of some of its citizens to settle Connecticut and, although the territory was out of the Commonwealth's jurisdiction, it caused commissioners to be appointed to rule the new settlements. The towns of Newbury and Marblehead were also admitted as plantations and given representation.

SIR HENRY VANE

Although in no sense a leader of the importance of Winthrop, the first period of the history of the Bay Colony would not be complete without a consideration of Henry Vane. Son of Sir Henry Vane, Privy Council and principal Secretary of State, Vane arrived in Boston, October, 1635, being, although but 23 years of age, a well traveled man, a favorite of King Charles and a person of importance and value to the colony for, despite the fact he had outraged his father by openly favoring the cause of the Puritans, he had been granted a three year license to come to Boston by the King himself. Thus, the colony welcomed the young man with open arms.

When less than two months in the colony, he was admitted as a member of the Boston Church and given magisterial powers. He became very active and attracted attention by calling a meeting to heal the differences which had arisen among the folk of the town over the ill-feeling between Winthrop and Dudley. Both Winthrop and Dudley

expressed their surprise and said that neither had any complaint to make against the other.

At the May, 1636, meeting of the General Court, Vane was chosen governor without dissent, Winthrop and Dudley were elected to the Court of Assistants for life and a "standing council" of leading men was appointed. This council, which was to be a permanent body, was arranged, presumably by Vane, as a sort of aristocratic branch of the Government as an inducement to bring members of the gentry of England to Boston. The council was, of course, without authority from the charter and, after languishing for three years, became a dead letter.

Vane's chief business came soon after, when the military commissioners of the General Court, ordered the cross to be cut out of all the colors of the train bands, but to put the King's Arms into the colors flown on the fort at Castle Island. Meanwhile, trouble with crews of ships in the harbour—the sea-weary sailors had always been a source of vexation to the law abiding citizens,—came to a head when certain officers and men were arrested for alleged disorderly conduct.

Vane called a meeting of all the captains of the ships in port and laid down a set of regulations which, after arranging for various business and ceremonial duties, provided that their crews might not remain on shore after sunset. This rule, the masters agreed to observe.

However, a few days after, the crew of the ship *Hector*, anchored in the harbor, received some folk of the town with insults and, upon complaint to Vane, the ship's captain denounced the colonists as traitors and rebels because they "had not the King's colours at the fort."

Vane arrested the officers of the *Hector* and, after they had apologized, released them. He then required the various captains to consider the question of the colors and they informed him that upon return to England they would report the absence of the King's flag and advised the governor to fly with them forthwith so that they might not cause difficulty for the Commonwealth. Vane replied that the Colony did not have such a flag, as "we were fully persuaded that the cross in the ensign was idolatrous." But, Vane continued, as the fort was the King's, his colors could be properly flown from it. Accordingly, the captains presenting the colony with the King's colors, the flag was flown the next day and trouble averted, although many of the Court consented only on the ground that the matter was doubtful and they preferred to acquiesce rather than cause difficulty.

Vane shortly afterward left the colony and, upon his return to England, aided in sending Charles to the scaffold—a fate which he himself suffered in the Restoration.

ANNE HUTCHINSON

In the person of the ill fated Anne Hutchinson, the whole religious attitude of the Colony is epitomized. Massachusetts established a Church in accordance with the views of the greater number of the settlers. While they made it independent of the Church of England, they never intended or pretended to establish toleration of any kind. In fact, following the rules of the Church of England, when they insisted that their Church was to be the only one in the Bay Colony and that everyone must conform and respect both the ministry and the organization, they were being both reasonable and logical. Really, to have done otherwise would have been dangerous because, first, the colonists were born and brought up in the idea that the Church must be unified or it would fall; second, any latitude in religious conduct would have inevitably resulted in bitter sectarian strife with resulting passion, prejudice and confusion; and third, the Church was deliberately designed to be the bulwark of the civil authority, the first line of offense in the preservation of law and order.

Thus, in their treatment of Mrs. Hutchinson, the colonists were not blind bigots but, for their day and peculiar position, reasonable earnest men who acted in accordance with their honest conviction that she was a person dangerous to the peace and prosperity of the State.

Mrs. Hutchinson, together with her husband, William, "a gentleman of good estate and good reputation," arrived in Boston in September 1634 from Alford, near Boston, Lincolnshire. A woman of superior education and ability, she was unfortunately, because she was a woman, enthusiastically interested in theological studies and controversies. In England, she had been a great admirer of Rev. Mr. Cotton and she was moved to come to Massachusetts in order that she might again listen to the great preacher.

At once, she obtained a prominent position in the town, not only through her abilities, but because of her genuine charity and sacrifice in welfare work among the sick and unfortunate. Had she been content "to manifest the spirit of God by works alone," there is no doubt she would have continued to be honored and respected. But she had the fatal gift of leadership and, copying the habit of the men folk of the town to hold private meetings for the purpose of discussing the sermons of the preceding Sunday, she instituted a weekly series of meetings for women at her home for the same purpose.

To the admiration of her audience, she expounded her own theological opinions, opinions which did not harmonize with those of the regular clergy. In particular, the ministers were commonly content

to believe that any person gave ample evidence of "the indwelling of the Spirit of God" by outward conduct—walk, dress, behavior and the like. For Mrs. Hutchinson, this was not enough; she maintained that any hypocrite could practice these outward conformities and that, since the only evidence of sincere piety was by the inner emotion of assurance and peace, the individual himself (or herself) was the only judge of the "inspiration of the spirit of God in his own heart."

This naturally came to the attention of the Court. Winthrop writes: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the Church of Boston, a woman of ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1, That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2, That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches; as, our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remain dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts or graces other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself. . . . There joined with her in these opinions a brother of hers, one Mr. Wheelwright, a silenced minister sometimes in England."

The matter first became serious when, on October 25, 1636, (O. S.) at a session of the General Court, a delegation of ministers from towns outside of Boston appeared to learn if there was any foundation in the report that the Rev. Mr. Cotton, himself, leaned to Mrs. Hutchinson's views. Mr. Cotton was present and agreed that sanctification did help to exhibit evidence of justification "but for the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, he held that still, as some others of the ministers did, but not union with the person of the Holy Ghost (as Mrs. Hutchinson and others did), so as to amount to a personal union."

And again, on October 30, the matter arose again when the question of calling Mr. Wheelwright to the Church of Boston, arose. Winthrop opposed the call on the ground that "he did not wish the church to run the least hazard by calling in a teacher whose spirit they knew not, and one who seemed to dissent in judgment." After much discussion, the meeting allowed Mr. Wheelwright to be "called" to a new church being organized in Mt. Wollaston, a village now Quincy.

Winthrop was called to account for his opposition by several members of the Church and excitement increased everywhere, as Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright were supported in whole or in part not only by Mr. Cotton but by Governor Vane and Dummer and Coddington of the Assistants.

At the December meeting of the General Court, the meeting at which Vane announced his desire to return to England, the dispute was brought before the Court and the elders of the churches were

called to confer "about discovering and pacifying the differences among the churches in the point of opinion." The Rev. Mr. Wilson, after much discussion arose "and made a very sad speech of the condition of our churches, and the inevitable danger of separation (Winthrop reporting), if these differences and alienations among brethren were not speedily remedied; and laid the blame upon these new opinions risen up among us, which all the magistrates except the Governor and two others, did confirm, and all the ministers but two."

This speech, of course, gave offense to the Governor, Dummer, Coddington and to the Rev. Mr. Cotton. Cotton arose and attacked Wilson but, upon a vote of censure being suggested for Mr. Wilson, turned about and talked against it, although giving Wilson "a grave exhortation." The next day the rift was patched between Winthrop and Wilson and Cotton and the Governor.

But peace did not last long and very soon the ministers all united in attacking Cotton, and drew up sixteen charges against him, to which he replied, in general, unsatisfactorily. Accordingly, the dissension grew and on January 20th, a fast day was held for "among other things, the dissensions in our churches."

At the March, 1637, session of the General Court, the ministers were again called to advise the meeting upon its authority in questions concerned with the Church. The ministers united in declaring that, "in all such heresies or errors of any church members as are manifest and dangerous to the State, the Court may proceed without tarrying for the Church. . . ." Thus fortified, the Court went about trying Mr. Wheelwright for a sermon which, it was alleged, came within the scope of the ministers' declaration. Eventually, the Court judged him guilty of sedition and also of contempt. Sentence was deferred to the next session. Petitions from many members of the Boston Church that they be allowed to attend the trial were refused "as groundless and presumptuous" and a protest, signed by the Governor, was rejected as well. At the same time Stephen Greensmyth, for his contrary theological views, was committed to the marshal, sentenced to pay forty pounds and was bound in a hundred pounds until he complied.

May 17th, 1637, (O. S.) the annual meeting of the Court for elections was held at Cambridge. Governor Vane opened the meeting by desiring to present a petition for the justification of Mr. Wheelwright. Winthrop, as deputy, said that the petition was out of order as the meeting was called for the purpose of elections and moved that the election be proceeded with. Vane refused to do so, whereupon Winthrop, taking the helm, held the election and was chosen Governor and, reports Winthrop, "Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Dummer

(being all of that faction) were left quite out." The sentence of Wheelwright was again deferred as Winthrop desired that "their moderation and desire of reconciliation might appear to all."

However, Boston was greatly displeased and proceeded to elect Vane, Coddington and Goffe as its deputies. The Court added fuel to the fire by refusing to receive them on the ground that adequate notice of the deputies' election had not been given.

Vane's sergeants refused to work under Winthrop and he had to employ two of his own servants for the duty. On June 20, Lord Ley arrived in Boston. Winthrop, to receive him, invited him, Vane and others to dine—but Vane at the very hour of the dinner, carried Ley with him to dinner at Maverick's across the harbor. In August Vane and Ley sailed back to England, thus depriving the Hutchinson faction of its chief support.

Then, for several months, because of the absorbing interest of the Pequot War, the controversy flagged but on August 30, it flared again at a conference of ministers to welcome Mr. Davenport and other ministers, recently come over from England. The meeting attempted to pour oil on the troubled waters by passing resolutions. One of them, however, provided "that though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly (as was then the practice at Boston) where sixty or more did meet every week and one woman (in a prophetic way, by resolving questions of doctrine and expounding Scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly and without rule."

This poured oil on the flames rather than upon the waters and, as Winthrop says, "though Mr. Wheelwright and those of his party had been clearly confuted and confounded in the Assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions and were as busy in nourishing contentions as before." Mrs. Hutchinson also continued her meetings and criticisms and caused church meetings to be disturbed by propounding questions to the ministers at the close of their sermons. In particular, she went so far as to walk out of the Church when Mr. Wilson arose to preach.

Thus all that fall the controversy blazed and, when the November meeting of the General Court was called it was painfully apparent that the Commonwealth itself was seriously imperiled through threatened disruption. Thus it was determined that vigorous and final action must be taken at once. "Whereupon the General Court . . . finding upon consultation that two so opposite parties could not contain in the same body without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principals." Three deputies to the General Court, Aspinwall, Coggeshall and Sergeant Oliver, because they had signed

the petition presented to the Court in the spring in favor of Mr. Wheelwright, were expelled from the Court as deputies. Aspinwall and Coggeshall were disfranchised and Aspinwall was banished. Mr. Wheelwright was then disfranchised and ordered to leave Massachusetts within fourteen days. Finally, Mrs. Hutchinson was called and, after a lengthy examination, was also banished. Other leaders of the schism were also called to account and eight others were disfranchised and seventy six men, in all, were ordered disarmed.

Mrs. Hutchinson and her family were speedily exiled and, finally, settled in New Rochelle, N. Y. There, in 1643, she and all the members of her family, save a daughter, were murdered by the Indians during the war between the Dutch and the Mohawks. A river near where she lived, still bears her name.

These severe measures had the effect they were designed to accomplish. They were received at first with indignation but, as it was clear that the Court had acted in the best interests of the colony, and as the leaders of the trouble had been expelled, the fire soon died down and peace was restored. Indeed, within a few months, the Church of Boston, which had most warmly supported Mrs. Hutchinson, passed a vote of censure upon her devoted head.

THE END OF THE FIRST PERIOD

With the Church thus firmly established, with a constant stream of colonists arriving every month, save in winter, and, with the successful conclusion of the Pequot War, peace with the Indians setting in for 40 years, the first ten years of Boston's existence closed with most hopeful prospects for the colony.

A great deal of trouble, of war with France and the Indians, of internal trials and tribulations, lay ahead. But ten years had seen the founding of the colony was accomplished. Boston, Salem, and a dozen other towns were solidly established and the Bay Colony itself was so stoutly framed that the storms which soon broke upon the Commonwealth did not, at any time, cause it to falter in the development of the civil and religious forms which had been created.

To Winthrop much of the credit for the accomplishment belongs. His wisdom and prudence were the salvation of the enterprise. Firm and immovable in essential matters, in all that was unimportant or was the means to a desired end, he was always diplomatic and conciliatory. He was surrounded by many worthy, capable and enterprising associates, but it seems clear that to him, more than any other, Massachusetts owes its present being.

CHAPTER VIII

Geographical Growth of the Bay Colony

If Roger Williams' flight into the wilderness to escape being forcibly transported back to England was the direct cause of the founding of Rhode Island, the first major expansion of the Bay Colony, the settlement of Connecticut, was occasioned not so much by religious motives as by solid economic reasons and by political dissatisfaction.

Politically, the reason for the first expansion was obvious. Once the Bay Colony was firmly established, two things were painfully clear to the thousands of newcomers who arrived annually. First, that the control of the Colony was strictly limited to a very few men; on September 4th, 1633, there were but 350 men who had the right to vote—which meant that a mere handful had the sole right to levy taxes which the entire Commonwealth had to pay. Second, the government itself was an absolute theocracy, one in which only the members of the Congregational Church could vote or hold office. Thus, new colonists who came to Boston in expectation of finding freedom, discovered that they had not obtained it; in place of the English political system, they had the autocracy of a handful of first-arrivals; and in place of the Church of England, they had a Congregational Church, equally vested and, in fact, much more intolerant, vigorous and assertive.

Economically, the reasons for expansion are not so clear. Truly, enough, the colonists complained of lack of room, which probably meant that newcomers discovered that all the better locations had been granted to the first comers and that there was nothing available in or about the principal towns but second-rate farms. More important, probably, was that, with the Colony firmly founded, all the more lucrative lines of business were in the hands of the handful of representatives of the governing group and thus, if a new arrival wished to set himself up to trade with the Indians or gain title to forest lands or fat and fertile fields, he must of necessity make his way out beyond the line of settlement.

CONNECTICUT

Consequently, the frontiers of the Colony began to move westward, northward and, particularly, to the south-west over and down into the present State of Connecticut. The future State drew first attention because, not only was it known to be fertile and rich with opportunity, but it was easily accessible for, in place of a long and dangerous march overland, the whole heart of the area could easily be reached by simply sailing around Cape Cod, coasting down Long Island Sound and beating up the Connecticut River.

That the Bay Colony Charter did not extend to cover the region, that the Dutch were already established on the river, or even that their own brethren, the Pilgrims at Plymouth, were trading there, bothered the Boston folks very little. Probably the fact that the territory was already occupied served to convince them that the location was excellent.

Adrian Block, Dutch explorer, explored the Connecticut River as far as Hartford in 1614 and traders from Holland soon established themselves, building a fort near the site of Hartford. In 1627, for the evident purpose of strengthening their claim to the region, the New Netherland's governor, Peter Minuit, sought to encourage English settlers to come to Connecticut and thus hoping to give Holland legal right to govern. In 1632, Governor Winslow of Plymouth, visited the Connecticut River, was delighted with the country and began to promote the establishment of a Pilgrim trading post there.

However, in the meantime, the Council for New England, sitting in London, gave the region, from Rhode Island to the Pacific to Lord Brooke, Lord Say and Sele, John Hampden and others. When the Dutch heard of this, they made haste to strengthen their fort at Hartford, purchased adjacent lands from the Indians and, mounting cannon to command the river, determined to keep the English away.

The Pilgrims, although aware of the change of heart on the part of the Dutch, determined to establish their outpost upon the river. So, in October, 1633, Captain William Holmes with a few men, sailed up the river with a commission from Governor Winslow to establish a settlement. As he neared the Dutch fort, the guard ordered him to retire but, Holmes, risking the cannon, sailed boldly by without a shot being fired and, landing at Windsor, established the English claim.

The following year, the Dutch, seventy strong, marched up to expel the Pilgrims. Again Holmes refused to be intimidated and a parley was held which resulted in the Dutch eventually abandoning all

claim to Connecticut, being content to fix the eastern boundary line of New Netherlands at about the present line of New York and Connecticut. There is no doubt but that the Dutch were the rightful owners of the region but under Governor Stuyvesant, they were persuaded to give up their claim in hope of being undisturbed on Manhattan—a vain hope indeed.

Holmes' colony flourished and in 1635 he was joined by a party of some sixty men, women and children who marched overland from various settlements in Massachusetts. For two months they marched across hills, waded in mud and mire and finally reached Windsor on November 25 in a snow storm. The following few months were a period of bitter hardship. They lived on acorns, wild game and whatever they could find or beg from the Indians. In the spring, a church was built at Hartford and in April, the government was organized by the calling of a General Court. Meanwhile, commissioners for Connecticut (representatives of Say & Brooke) had arrived from England at Boston with orders to build a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut. This was speedily accomplished, with the fort being constructed at Saybrook (Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke).

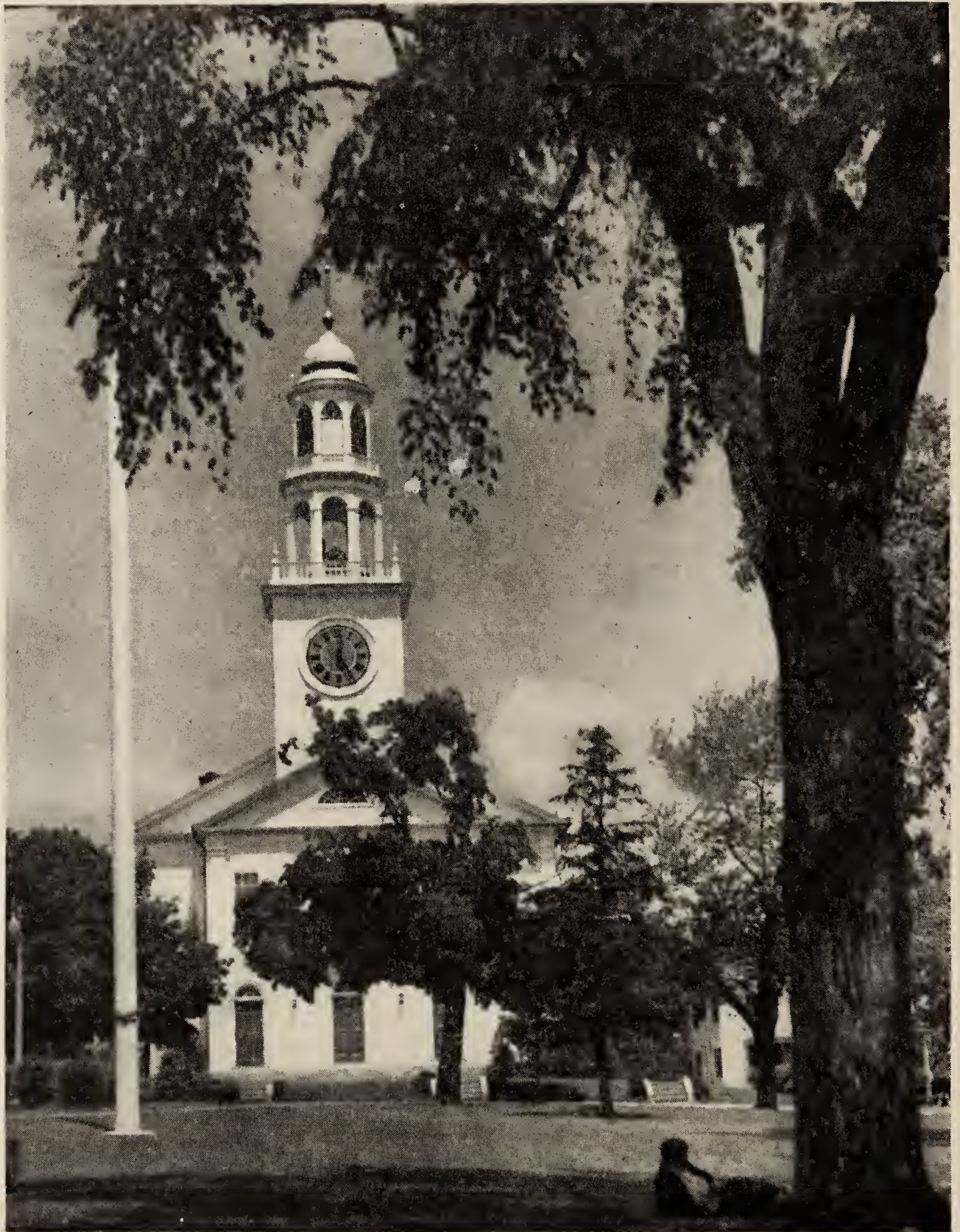
Although Connecticut was thus firmly in English hands, the real migration from Massachusetts was yet to take place.

The tide had its beginning in 1633 when the ship *Griffin* brought Rev. John Cotton and Rev. Thomas Hooker to Boston. Cotton was made minister at Boston and Hooker pastor at Newtown, now Cambridge.

Hooker, taking up his duties, found that Newtown folk were bitterly embroiled with Boston over matters of taxation and, particularly, over the alleged lack of land. The settlers actually complained of being crowded.

At the September meeting of the General Court, Newtown presented a petition to either be enlarged or to be removed. Scouts sent to Connecticut in July, had reported that the region was excellent. The Court deadlocked upon the petition and finally, after a six day adjournment, agreed to enlarge Newtown by giving the town lands now comprising, in part, Brookline, Newton, Brighton and Arlington. This was not enough for as Mather writes, "Massachusetts soon became like a hive overstocked with bees and many thought of swarming into new plantations." There were not more than a hundred families in Cambridge then.

In September, 1633, trader John Oldham returned to Boston from an exploring and trading trip into Connecticut with a load of



FIRST PARISH CHURCH, READING

beaver, hemp and "black lead." A year later, he led a party of ten men into Connecticut. They built a house and wintered at Wethersfield, a town which was established a year later when on May 6, 1635, the General Court gave the citizens of Watertown permission "to remove themselves to any place they shall think meete to make choice of, provided they continue still under this government." In all, some fifty families seem to have moved, a few at a time, to Wethersfield.

And then, in June 1635, the General Court granted three cannon "to the plantations that shall remove themselves to Connecticut to fortify themselves" and the party from various settlements moved to join Holmes at Windsor. Their coming greatly embarrassed the Pilgrims, who, though they fed and aided the Puritans, complained about their bad manners in pre-empting the claims of Plymouth. But that did not bother the Boston folk in the least and they made themselves at home, arguing that "This land was the Lord's waste and for the present altogether void of inhabitants." Evidently neither Pilgrim nor Indian counted with Boston.

But in any case, Windsor would not have been left in peace to the Pilgrims, for Sir Richard Saltonstall had sent over from England a party of twenty to make him a settlement in Connecticut and they too arrived at Windsor only a few days after the Boston folks did.

In November of the same year, 1635, the party of some sixty folks, largely from Cambridge, who had marched overland, arrived and settled to the north of Hartford. Their hardships have been mentioned.

Then, the following year, undismayed by the suffering of the Newtown emigrants during the winter, the main migration from Newtown to Connecticut began. On May 31, 1636, under the leadership of Hooker, and his associate teacher, Rev. Samuel Stone, one hundred families left Boston for Hartford. With them, they drove eight score cattle, together with a number of sheep and goats. Mrs. Hooker, the wife of the pastor, because of her illness, was carried on a horse litter. Just what route they followed is not known, but it must indeed have been a delightful summer journey over the hills and through the forest. The party settled on the south side of Hartford, near the site of the Dutch fort.

Meanwhile, a party of colonists from England had arrived and were glad to take over the Newtown houses of the migrating folk, purchasing them upon what seems to have been the first example of installment buying in America.

With Hartford thus founded and a General Court established, Connecticut was firmly organized and the new Colony began. For a year, the Colony existed under a commission form of government from Boston but it soon stood erect on its own feet and ran its own affairs successfully. Church membership, interestingly enough, although important, was never made a condition of voting or of holding office and, when in 1638, Hooker delivered his famous sermon before the Connecticut General Court, he firmly stated the fundamental principles of the Colony: "The foundation of authority is laid on the free consent of the people . . . (the people have the power not only to appoint officers and magistrates but also) to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place to which they call them." Thus was a fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence anticipated by a hundred and forty years.

A few years later, in June, 1641, the limits between the spheres of Connecticut and Massachusetts clashed when the latter assumed jurisdiction over the plantation of Agawam, now Springfield. Agawam was settled in 1636 by William Pynchon and a company of followers from Roxbury. When the Connecticut commission government was superseded, Agawam was joined with the Connecticut towns under the Connecticut General Court. But this did not "please" Pynchon and his associates and they requested the General Court of Massachusetts to assume jurisdiction again, which the Bay Colony did in 1641, commissioning Pynchon to hold courts with juries of six persons, defendants having the right of appeal to the Court of Assistants in "matters of weight or difficulty." Naturally, Connecticut remonstrated to Boston and the General Court on Beacon Hill replied, (*Mass. Records*, I, 321-324) "We have thought meet upon these occasions to intimate further unto you that we intend (by God's help) to know the certainty of our limits, to the end that we may neither intrench upon the rights of any of our neighbors, nor suffer ourselves and our posterity to be deprived of what rightly belongeth unto us, which we hope will be without offence to any."

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

While the expansion of Boston to the south was sharply limited by the independence of Providence and the partition of Connecticut, the reverse was true to the north and east.

Both New Hampshire and Maine had been the object of colonizing from Boston and Plymouth as well as from England. Several new plantations were founded directly from England, but the trading

stations operated from Plymouth and Boston flourished and, in the course of time, the tide of Colonial settlement began to flow north along the coast and up the larger rivers.

Legally, Gorges and Mason held patents for the area now comprising the two states and they both spent what, for the times, were huge sums, in persistent attempts at colonization. However, after years of failure and disappointment, they became convinced that they would never receive an adequate return upon their investment.

Left alone, Boston under Bellingham and, later under Winthrop once more, pursued its own sweet way. In 1629, the English Company of Laconia, comprised of Gorges and Mason and a number of English merchants, had set about colonizing the Picataqua River region and had established settlements at Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth, and Cocheco, now Dover. But the three towns grew but slowly and made no return of importance upon the investments sunk in their establishment and maintenance. Thus, when Gorges and Mason grew discouraged, the three towns were left to their own devices. Finding themselves rather lonesome they approached Boston and in 1641, their agents resigned Portsmouth and Dover to Massachusetts and, in 1643, Exeter, founded by Wheelwright in 1638.

Interestingly enough, the Massachusetts theocracy was made to grant considerable concessions to the three towns. At first, the new citizens were given the same privileges as the rest of the Bay Colony, had the same court rights as Salem and Ipswich, were exempted from public charges and yet were given two deputies to the General Court. Then, a little later, it was granted that the test of church membership for voting and the right to hold office would not be enforced. This gave Massachusetts possession of New Hampshire, although the original proprietors of the Laconia Company, nominally held fractions of the lands in the towns.

Since Massachusetts made these liberal concessions to the three towns, it may be believed that there was another consideration of more importance concerned. There was, indeed; Massachusetts, under its charter, laid claim to all of New Hampshire and much of Maine and by accepting the towns, aided the establishment of the claim.

The charter provided that the northern boundary of the Colony was "three English miles to the northward of the said river called Monomack or Merrimac, or to the northward of any and every part thereof" and from thence east and west along a parallel of latitude.

Massachusetts thus naturally contended that this northern boundary should be drawn from the most northern part of the Merrimac. If so, then all the then inhabited parts of New Hampshire and Maine

belonged to the Colony and not to Gorges, Mason or the Laconia Company.

In 1652, Boston sent John Sherman of Watertown and Jonathan Ince, a Harvard student, to take the latitude of the most northern part of the Merrimac. They reported that they found that "Aque-dahian, the name of the head of the Merrimac where it issues out of the Lake *Winnapusseakit*, was forty three degrees, forty minutes and twelve seconds, besides those minutes which are to be allowed for the three miles north which run into the Lake." Later the same year, Jonas Clark and Samuel Andrews were sent by the General Court up along the coast to discover where this latitude ran into salt water. They took "an observation at the northerly bounds of our patent upon the sea coast" and found that it "runs on the northernmost point of an island, as we judge, not above two or three rods above high water mark. The Island is called Upper Clapboard Island, about a quarter of a mile from the Main. in *Gasco* Bay, about four or five miles to the northward of Mr. Makworth's house." (*Mass. Records*, III, 361-2)

Massachusetts maintained her authority over New Hampshire until 1679, when an English Court held that the authority assumed by Boston was illegal and established New Hampshire as a separate colony. In 1689, when the news of the English Revolution reached New England, Massachusetts regained authority but in 1692, the Crown reestablished New Hampshire's independence. In 1776, New Hampshire proclaimed its independence as a State and in 1788 joined the United States under the Constitution.

Maine remained under the wing of Massachusetts much longer. The Bay Colony gained complete control, including the Duke of York's Penobscot-Kennebec grant, in 1677 and did not relinquish authority until 1820 when Maine became a separate member of the United States.

CHAPTER IX

The United Colonies of New England

Very early in their history, the several colonies of New England displayed evidence of two major and highly significant trends in political thinking, trends which played a powerful part in the ultimate independence and constitutional government of the United States. These two trends of thought were, first, the common recognition that the future prosperity of the Colonies could best be assured by united action to which individual differences were to be submerged, and, second, that the Crown was not of sacred value and could be and should be made secondary when American interests were concerned.

These were clearly displayed in the formation of what the colonists called "The United Colonies of New England."

This confederation had its basic origin in the need for a cooperative system for defensive military activity. Plymouth, when in difficulty with the French on the Penobscot River in Maine, had called upon Boston for help; help which was refused, except on the promise that Plymouth would pay all expenses incurred. Then, during the war with the Pequots, Connecticut called upon both Boston and Plymouth for aid; aid which was rather tardily given. When New Haven was established, it, being the nearest settlement to the Dutch at New York, requested that it should be given assistance from the other English settlements in case of trouble with the Dutch.

This situation caused a meeting to be held in Boston in 1637 between Connecticut and Boston officials for the purpose of forming a confederation of some sort which would provide the necessary machinery for a unified military alliance. Plymouth was notified of the meeting but not in time for the town to send representatives.

Nothing immediate resulted from this meeting but, out of it, Massachusetts developed a scheme for a confederation. Connecticut, however, turned it down because, while Boston desired that, in the proposed union, any action taken by a majority of the representatives of the several colonies should be binding upon them all, Connecticut proposed that a binding vote could only be such if the representatives

were unanimously agreed and that, in case of a difference of opinion, the question at issue, must be referred to the General Courts of the several colonies for final settlement. This Connecticut opinion, of course, would rob the union of value in case any immediate and drastic action became necessary.

So the proposed Confederacy languished until 1642 when Connecticut, fearful of war with the Dutch, backed down somewhat in its desires for limiting the authority of the Union, and urged that the matter be taken up again. In this, Connecticut was joined by Plymouth, who, at first lukewarm, was finally convinced of the value of a strong union with which to present a united front.

Naturally, the chief difficulty to the formation of such a union was the fear that the small colonies had for big and busy Massachusetts Bay Colony. "In population, in wealth, in learning, in the security of her possessions, in the friendship of those who were now rising into power in England, Massachusetts towered over the other colonies." Very probably, Massachusetts Bay Colony was alone more than twice as large as all the rest of New England combined. Thus Plymouth and Connecticut might well have been pardoned for hesitating in subjecting themselves to the overwhelming power of Boston Bay.

However, in precise proportion to their lesser importance, the small colonies needed the union with Massachusetts Bay Colony and, accordingly, in May 1643, commissioners from Plymouth, Connecticut, Saybrook and New Haven met at Boston with commissioners representing the Bay Colony, prepared to sacrifice, if they must, their independence for the sake of military security which alliance with the might of Boston would give them.

All of New England was not invited to the conference. The settlements in Maine were ignored since they were owned at least nominally by Borges. Providence was Roger Williams' and the other two Rhode Island plantations, Aquedneck (now Newport) and Portsmouth, were mostly peopled by adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson. So Rhode Island was also ignored for religious reasons. Aquedneck later petitioned to be allowed to join the union but was refused.

The commissioners who sat down at Boston were: Massachusetts Bay; Winthrop, Dudley, Bradstreet, Tynge, Hathorne and Captain Gibbons. Plymouth; Winslow and Collier. Connecticut; Haynes and Hopkins. Saybrook; Fenwick; and New Haven; Eaton and Grigson.

Winthrop reports the conference thus: "Those coming to consultation encountered some difficulties, but being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they yielded readily each to the other in such

things as tended to common utility, etc., so as in some two or three meetings they lovingly accorded upon these ensuing articles, which being allowed to our court and signed by all the commissioners, were sent to be ratified by the General Courts of other jurisdictions; only Plymouth commissioners having power only to treat, but not to determine, deferred the signing of them till they came home, but soon after they were ratified by their General Court also."

Thus harmoniously and earnestly the confederation was brought about. It is a most remarkable agreement, one which strangely enough



OLD DAY HOUSE, PRESERVED AS A MUSEUM, WEST SPRINGFIELD

has not received the general attention and appreciation which it deserves for, in many things, it is the direct antecedent of the United States Constitution and thus the first formulation of American principles.

The preamble to the articles of union follows: "Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was at first intended, so

that we cannot according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the said distractions in England, and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice, and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect, we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles."

Article one gives the title of the confederation as the United Colonies of New England.

Article two reads: "These United Colonies for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

Article three is concerned with the careful protection of local self-government in all the several colonies and provides that no other colony shall be admitted to the union, that no two of the colonies shall unite, and that no colonies shall make another confederacy with any other colony, without the consent of the others.

Article four sets forth the understanding that all costs of military operations shall be borne by the several colonies in proportion to the number of male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty in each. To determine this number, the commissioners of each plantation were obliged to take the census of their respective colonies and to report the number to the union. The article also provides that all lands, goods and other booty gained in a war shall be divided amongst the colonies in the same proportion. (The proportion worked out as follows: Massachusetts one hundred fifty, Plymouth thirty, and the others twenty five each.)

Article five provides that, if any of the plantations were invaded by an enemy, all of the others would, at the request of three of the magistrates of the invaded colony, send aid immediately in the fixed proportions. If fewer men were required, fewer were to be asked

for, and it was further provided that, if the quota of the nearest colony would be enough to meet the enemy, the invaded colony would request aid from that one colony alone. Interestingly enough, the article goes on to consider an invasion occasioned by the fault of the invaded colony and provides that, in such case, the invaded colony would have not only to bear the entire cost of the war but also make restitution to the invaders for any loss they suffered.

Article six provides that two commissioners be chosen from each colony "all in church fellow-ship with us" and that they be given, by their respective general courts, full authority "for the managing and concluding of all affairs peculiar to and concerning the whole confederation." The article then provides that the business of the union was to be settled by a vote of not less than six of the commissioners and that, if such amity was not attained, then the matter was to be referred to the respective general courts and, if the several courts voted in favor, then the affirmative vote was to be binding upon the commissioners. Finally, the article established annual meetings on the first Thursday in September as follows in rotation, Boston, Hartford, New Haven, Plymouth and Boston, twice in succession.

Article seven provides that each annual meeting shall elect a president by a vote of at least six members, to conduct the meeting—but the article limits the powers of this president to that of a mere director of the meeting, specifically stating that his vote shall be of no other importance or weight than that it has through his being one of the commissioners.

Article eight instructs the commissioners at their meetings to "endeavour to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations are interested, for preserving peace amongst themselves, and preventing, as much as may be, all occasions of war or differences with others, as about the speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction to all the confederates equally, as to their own, receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificates." Specifically, the article provides for dealing with Indians, runaway servants, prisoners, fugitives from justice and other unfortunate folk. Each colony was to apprehend persons wanted by the authorities in other colonies and return them to justice, the cost being paid by the colony wanting the fugitive.

Article nine, concerned with the dangerous consequences of warfare, provides that no colony of the union, shall engage in a war, except in sudden emergencies, without the consent of the commissioners.

Article ten, concerned with the same matter, provides that, if the

entire body of commissioners are not gathered in time to authorize any necessary war, the assent of four commissioners will be sufficient to call out men from each colony but that at least six commissioners were needed in the affirmative to "determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same."

Article ten provides that if any of the colonies breaks the terms of the union, or acts in a manner injurious to any other member of the union, then that colony shall be dealt with by the commissioners of the other colonies so that "both peace and this present confederation may be entirely preserved without violation."

It is interesting to observe that many of these provisions of the union are similar to some points in the Constitution—that taxes are apportioned on the basis of population, that the Senate is composed of two members from each State, that Congress assembles once a year, that it has the power to declare war and call out the militia to repel invasions and to rule concerning captures, that no State shall enter into an agreement with another State or foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, that any person charged with crime, who shall escape to another State, shall be delivered up to the State from which he fled, that no new State shall be formed within the jurisdiction of an existing State or that no union of two or more States can be made without the consent of Congress—all these provisions of the Constitution, amongst others, appear in the articles of the union and in all probability were first formulated in Boston by Winthrop and his associates.

The other chief point of interest about the union is that it was established without authority from the Crown. By effecting this confederacy, the colonies were tacitly acting as sovereign and independent States, thus flouting the authority of England. Perhaps the concern of King and Parliament with each other may explain why the union was accomplished without censure from London but, nevertheless, it was continued both under Cromwell and Charles II until the colony charters were finally forfeited.

Be the foregoing as it may, the union was completed and placed in operation and effectively safeguarded the welfare of the colonies during the critical period when they were being established. It worked—but more important was the fact that it showed New England that it could combine to protect itself and could act independently of the King.

CHAPTER X

Quakers and Anabaptists

Beginning in England with the preaching of George Fox, the Quakers, so called because they "quaked and trembled at the Word of the Lord," spread quickly to Massachusetts, being officially "noticed" here in 1656, and possibly earlier in Salem. Of itself, Quakerism was not particularly obnoxious. Fox claimed that the written word is not the sole medium of instruction, (even if Puritans lived by and with the Bible) nor should religious folks always look to the church for comfort whenever in doubt and difficulty, for, Fox alleged, "there is a light of Christ within each man's breast superior to bibles and sacraments. Every man is a church in himself," and "there dwells the Creator of the World in a temple not made with hands." Probably, this belief can well be considered as the logical development of the Protestant philosophy. Certainly it does today express the religious attitude of multitudes of religious persons who, for all their failure to unite with an organized church, cannot be described as irreligious for they find in themselves a certain religious satisfaction.

But what made Quakerism obnoxious to the Puritans was the forms through which its converts chose to express their belief and the means which they followed to publicize their convictions. Quakers, preached Fox, should not take off their hats in the presence of superiors; they should always use familiar address (thee and thou) to all persons, no matter what their rank or position; they must not take an oath, even when required in a court; they must not bend the knee, even to the King himself. Born in an age of extraordinary religious enthusiasm, Quakerism attracted many converts who were not sufficiently philosophical to comprehend it, or even normally sane. Hence, many Quakers, fired with their holy zeal, set out to convert the world and, following the example of Christian martyrs, willingly embraced persecution, even sought it, as a means of attracting attention and exemplifying their faith. What made things worse for them, and society, was that, Fox had bidden them to consult only their inner convictions, "to follow the sacred spark as the lantern to

their feet." Thus, as was natural enough, rude, uneducated folk, without inhibitions of any kind, began to receive "Divine commands to action" which were not praiseworthy. Public decency was outraged and even Fox himself shortly came to rebuke some of the more active of his followers, whom he termed Ranters.

But the spark had fallen upon inflammable tinder and Fox was unable to control his followers in a large degree. Consulting their own hearts, as they had been bidden, many Quakers turned a deaf ear to reason, and set out on the conquest of the world, making up in enthusiasm what they lacked in sanity. For example, carpenters and mechanics, farmers and sailors, set out for Rome and Constantinople, determined to convert the Pope and the Sultan themselves.

This frenzy was at its height in Europe when a handful of Quakers, men and women, arrived in Salem, determined to "save the superstitious colony of Massachusetts with their message from the Lord." They were not mild and respectable Quakers, like William Penn; they came to fight against "superstition and priestcraft." Boston clergy were astonished and horrified; they found Quakerism "a gross collection of blasphemy and confusion." Undoubtedly, "Their spirit of the hat, and their fopperies of thee and thou," gave offense to the Puritans but what aroused the spirit of persecution was that, in the opinion of the Congregational Church, the Quakers were "a pernicious sect of heretics." Thus, the church advised the authorities, they should be discouraged. Accordingly, they were made "subject of reproach, scorn, buffeting, scourges . . . stripped of the clothes they wore, and robbed of the bed whereon they lay. The vessels in which they ate were forced from them, and their food itself reduced to almost nothing." But the Quaker missionaries were not discouraged at all by this reception. "They courted persecution and gloried in suffering." Thus the Puritan ministry advised the magistracy that something strenuous must be done.

The Court of Assistants at once imprisoned and then banished the "messengers from the Lord." Their books were burned by the common hangman in the Boston market-place. The captain of the ship which had brought the Quakers was also imprisoned and only released when he gave bonds that he would carry them away at his own expense. Then the General Court took action, in October, passing a law prohibiting and forbidding any ship either to land Quakers in the Colony or to import any books containing their "devilish opinions."

But, if the front door was closed, the back door was open. Most of the other Colonies followed the lead of Boston in banning the entrance of Quakers, but Rhode Island refused the request of Boston,

since Roger Williams replied that Rhode Island would not persecute any man for difference of opinion. Thus Rhode Island became, to the Puritan mind, the focus of the infection, as, from the doors of the hospitable State, Quakers quietly made their way into Massachusetts by night and by forest paths, and were not discovered until they began to preach in public. Thus the bewildered magistrates found that the numbers of the "accursed sect" were increasing and bewildered clergymen discovered that even amongst the members of their congregation converts to Quakerism were being made.

So, in 1657, the General Court, deciding that this state of affairs could not be tolerated, ordered that anyone who gave encouragement or even hospitality to the "blasphemous heretics" should be heavily fined and jailed while, for the offense of being a Quaker, it was provided that, at the first conviction, the culprit, if a man, should have an ear shorn away, if a woman, should be severely whipped. At the second conviction, the two punishments should be repeated, and, at the third, whether man or woman, a red-hot iron should be passed through the tongue. (Hutchinson: *Colonial Laws*.)

Despite this threatened severity, Quakerism continued to flourish and many converts were made. Mather wrote, "It was no rare thing for their leaders to make proselytes among the people, merely by stroking or breathing upon them." Arrests were made in numbers, the jails were soon crowded with prisoners, but the lot of gaoler and prisoner was not a happy one, for the Quakers, feeling they were unjustly treated, refused to work for their support or to pay the customary jail-keepers' fees. To correct the situation, the Court ordered that "the Quakers in prison be whipped twice a week if they refused to work, and the first time to add five stripes to the former ten, and each time to add three to them." The Quakers bore the beatings with rare fortitude but would not submit, although one of them, Neal, nearly died from his beatings and his sorry plight aroused horror and indignation among the public.

Still the missionary work went on; party after party came into Massachusetts from Rhode Island and flouted the magistrates to their very faces. Women paraded naked through the streets, crying aloud against the "superstitious colony." One woman blackened her face and so went into a church, describing her face as a sign of the black pox which, she warned, would soon plague New England for its sins. Another time, a Quaker man smashed two glass bottles together in front of a church congregation saying "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." Not only would the men Quakers refuse to cut their hair to conform with Puritan regulations, not only would they refuse to

bow their heads or remove their hats, but, in court and in church, they brazenly addressed magistrates and clergymen by their Christian names.

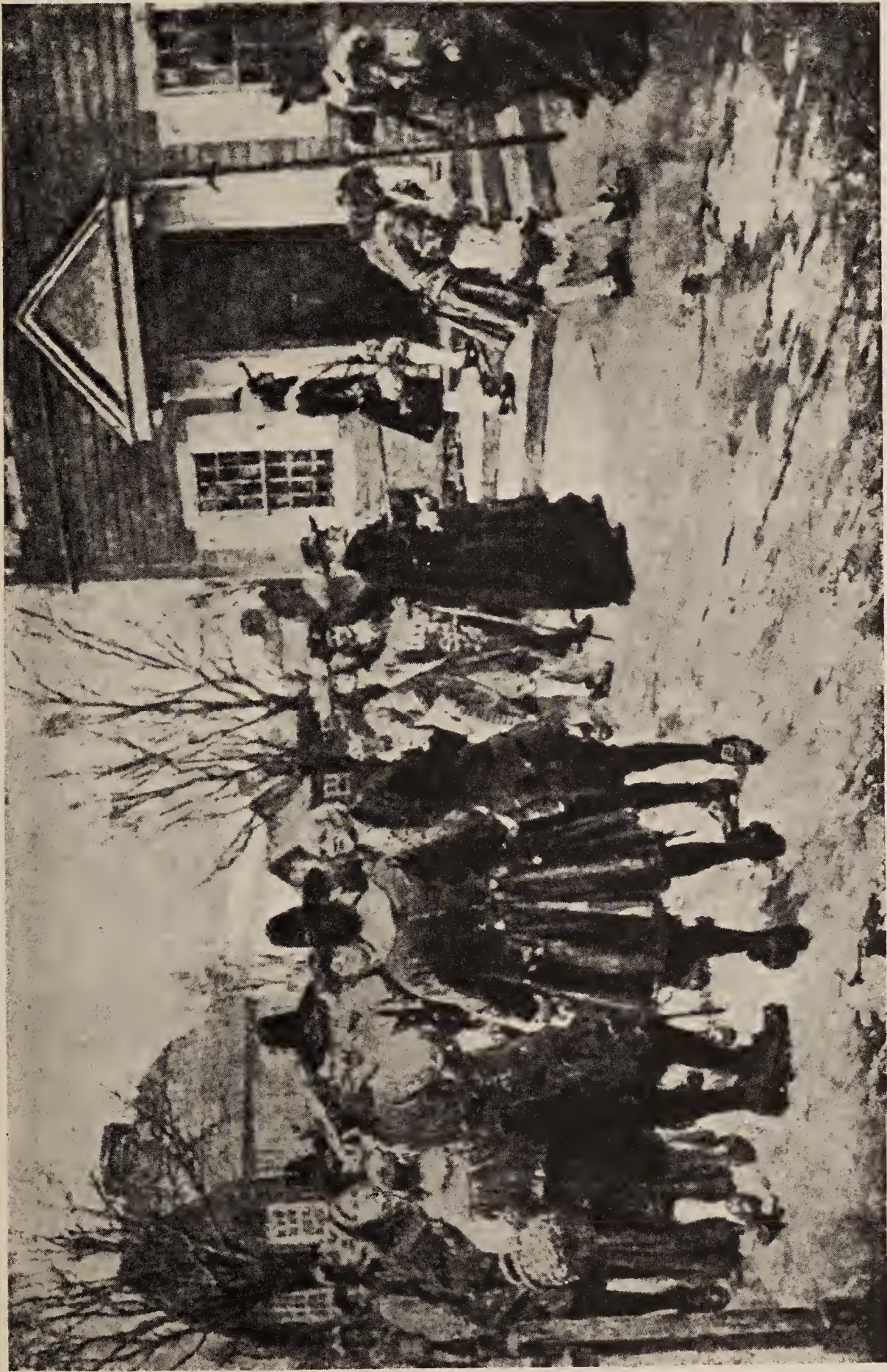
This behavior and the fundamental sin of their heresy, together with the alarming rate at which converts were being made, caused the persecution to be increased in severity. It was ordered that it was a jailable offense even to listen to Quaker preaching and a sort of secret service was organized to ferret out suspected private meetings at which Quakers preached. Thus it became unsafe to absent oneself from public meetings, particularly church services, and ordinary folk had to be very careful to remove their hats, never to say "thee" or "thou" and to walk most circumspectly in the "way of the Lord." The right of privacy was carelessly violated by the searching parties; private dwellings suspected of harboring Quakers were entered without a warrant or as much as a "by your leave."

However, while determined to protect New England folk from being contaminated, the authorities' chief concern was to root out the Quakers. The Court of Assistants in October, 1658, ordered that every person, not an inhabitant of the Colony, convicted of being a Quaker, should be banished and, if he should return, be executed. The Court at first attempted to have such Quakers tried without benefit of a jury but this was so flagrant a violation of ancient right, that the order was finally amended to provide trial by a special jury. Inhabitants of the Colony, convicted of being Quakers, were given a month in jail in which to cool off but, if at the end of the thinking spell, they "still persisted in their error," they too were banished and promised execution if they dared to return.

Probably the Court hoped that this extreme measure would frighten the Quakers away, or at least cause them to become less enthusiastic but, if so, their hope was futile for the Quakers continued to proselyte with renewed vigor. "Hardly a man banished from the Colony, by virtue of this severe law, but returned again in a few months, animated with new zeal for propagating his opinions."

Still loath actually to execute Quakers, the Court in 1659, passed yet another order in a desperate attempt to frighten them. This order authorized the selling of convicted Quakers into slavery in any of the English plantations of Virginia and the Barbadoes. The order was never actually carried into effect.

But in October, 1659, the patience of the Court was exhausted and it was determined to make an example of what Massachusetts could do, so as to check the Quakers once and for all. Three Quakers, described as vagabonds, two men and a woman, who had been previ-



FIRST EPISCOPAL SERVICE, GOVERNOR ANDREWS AT THE OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE

ously banished from the Colony and warned not to return upon pain of death, were again arrested in the act of preaching their doctrine. The woman was a second time banished, upon a plea for mercy from her son, but the two men were hanged. When the bodies were cut down "they were suffered to fall to the ground, with which, the skull of W. Robinson was broke . . . when down, their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies were cast into a hole of the earth. . . ." It was even forbidden to fence off the hole to preserve the bodies from the "attacks of ravenous beasts."

The executions were far from being publicly supported. In fact, so great was public sympathy for the Quakers, that the General Court issued a proclamation, justifying the executions. ". . . forasmuch as men of weaker parts and perverser principles may be less satisfied, and may take occasion to calumniate us as bloody persecutors, we thought it requisite to declare that, upon serious consideration, according to the example of England in their provision against the Jesuits, since no penalties were sufficient to restrain the impudent and insolent obtrusions of the Quakers, a law was made banishing such persons on pain of death." "Two Quakers," the document continued, "have been executed under the law, but a third, a woman, has been released and has had liberty to depart. This clemency," the proclamation concluded "will manifestly evince, that we desire their lives absent rather than their deaths present."

But still, the Quakers were not crushed. One, William Leddra, whom they offered life and liberty if he would leave Massachusetts, replied, "What, join with such murderers as you? Then let every man that meets me say, 'Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his Salvation.'" One convicted woman, asked by the Court where she lived, said, "I live in God, for in him we live, move, and have our being." Christison, condemned to the gallows wrote: "What have you gained by your cruel persecution? . . . for the last man (you) put to death, here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." Hangings went on, despite the growing opposition of the people but, when Mary Dyer, "a comely, grave woman, and of good personage," was hanged, after braving death in Boston three times because her conscience drove her to save the Colony, public opinion became so strong that only one other Quaker, a man, was hanged. This was in May 1661.

In answer to the unrest of the Colony, the General Court declared that they were desirous of using all means, with as much lenity as

was consistent with public safety, to prevent the activities of the Quakers, and so ordered that all vagabond Quakers, instead of being hanged and banished, should be delivered to the constable of the town in which they were arrested, stripped naked from the middle upwards, tied to the tail of a cart, and whipped through the town, and so through every town, to the nearest border of the settlement where they were to be discharged. If they returned, they were to be branded on the left shoulder with the letter R, and, if they still persisted in saving Massachusetts, then they were to be banished upon pain of death, as the law provided. Quakers who were not vagabonds but inhabitants of the Colony were to be imprisoned for a month, and then, unless they retracted and promised to behave, or voluntarily left the Colony, were to be proceeded against as if they were vagabond Quakers. To aid the constables in this business, the Court authorized them to impress carts, oxen and assistants.

However, only a few Quakers actually underwent this ghastly punishment; although, as the penalty could and was inflicted by order of the minor courts, the number of sufferers is unknown. During the period of persecution, some forty persons had, however, appeared before the Court of Assistants and General Court and were either banished, whipped at the post, imprisoned or hanged. Plymouth followed Boston's example, as did New Haven, although Connecticut was much less severe than the other Colonies—"In Connecticut there was little done, the governor being a tender man." Even in little Martha's Vineyard, despite the evangelical work of Mayhew, a band of Quakers, who invaded the Island, were ordered out of the church and delivered to an Indian with instructions "to carry them in a small canoe to the main land, over a sea nine miles broad." However, interestingly enough, the Indian, who was a Mayhew convert, took them into his own home and entertained them there for three days until the water was calm enough to provide an easy passage. He refused any compensation from them for his kindness; he said "they were strangers, and Jehovah taught him to love strangers."

The year 1662 saw the beginning of the end of the Quaker persecution for, although whipping still continued, "as a further favor through three towns only," London, aroused by floods of protests, had ordered America immediately to cease all capital and other corporal punishments of "those of the King's subjects called Quakers" and directed that "such who were obnoxious" should be deported to England. The King's order could not be flouted with further executions and the prisons had to be emptied, but the feeling against the sect still lived for years in the spirit of the Court. Later in the

decade, when Charles II issued an order in England tending to restrain the Quakers from too much activity there, the spirit of persecution revived in Massachusetts and, in 1669, English Quakers presented a broadside to King and Parliament in which they complained "of much barbarous usage on the part of the authorities in Massachusetts." The broadside was ignored but it was not of great moment, for Massachusetts was being bothered less and less by Quakers, as the sect passed out from under its first wave of enthusiasm and quieted down to soberer life. However, as late as 1675, Massachusetts was still active against the sect, passing a law ordering every person found at a Quaker meeting within the Colony to be fined or committed to prison "for correction."

ANABAPTISM

The religious philosophy known as Anabaptism was in some respects similar to Quakerism and, appearing in the Colony from its very beginning, was officially persecuted for some twenty years, beginning in 1644. However, it never excited the passion such as developed against the Quakers, although doubtless, its presence and treatment established a precedent for the more rigid suppression of the Quakers. Probably also the more serious business of the Quakers overtopped Anabaptism and thus saved the adherents of the sect from the severer treatment they might otherwise have suffered.

Anabaptism was first punished in the Colony in 1644 when a man was whipped for refusing to allow his child to be baptized. The same year, the General Court passed a law, banishing them from the Colony, and providing that whoever "openly condemned or opposed the baptising of infants or should purposely depart from the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or should deny the ordinance of the magistracy, and their lawful authority to make war, and to punish the breaches of the first table," should be banished.

This treatment quelled Anabaptism until 1651 when it broke out in Plymouth. Obadiah Holmes and two friends, incurred the dislike of the Pilgrims, who excommunicated them, forbade them to organize a church of their own and to meet together on Sundays. The three left Plymouth and were arrested in Boston for worshipping God on the Lord's day, "after their own manner." They were taken to attend a regular church service but scandalized the congregation by keeping their hats on and reading books during prayer. They were tried for this offense and sentenced to be either whipped or to pay fines. Holmes chose the lash to "better evince his loyalty to the

principle of religious liberty." After punishment, his friends exhibited his bruises in the Boston market place and praised God for the fortitude he had exhibited. For this enthusiasm, they were arrested and fined. This severe treatment again quelled the open expression of Anabaptism, only one more example being made when Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard, was forced to resign his office because he dared to deny the value of infant baptism. Chauncey, who succeeded Dunster, was of a different persuasion; he advocated not merely baptizing infants but held they should be dipped all over and not merely sprinkled.

From this time until 1665, Anabaptism slumbered, being drifted under by the Quaker persecution but, during that year, in Boston, a group of them withdrew from public worship with the organized church and tried to establish a church of their own. This the General Court forbade and ordered the dissenters to rejoin the established church. Upon their refusal and "persistence in their error," a persecution was initiated. Some were fined, others flogged and a few banished. For years this comparatively mild punishment continued (Anabaptists were burned at the stake in Europe) but, as in the case of the Quakers, the sect flourished under the lash. Finally, in 1679, the persecution was allowed to lapse, orders for punishment became dead letters and the Anabaptists were allowed the quiet enjoyment of their "exorbitances." This was not in any way a genuine tolerance but rather a silent and suspicious forbearance; but, as with freedom the Anabaptists failed to flourish to any great extent, the matter was finally forgotten as far as any legal proceedings were concerned.

CHAPTER XI

The Body of Liberties

For the first decade of the existence of the Bay Colony, the Court of Assistants ruled with an iron rod. Practically without limitation, their power was nearly absolute. Had this Court, which was comprised of a mere handful of men, been restrained by a code of laws, or even by a body of precedents, the condition would not have been so extraordinary. But the sole check upon their decisions was merely agreement amongst themselves, for there was no definition of what a crime consisted of or even of what punishments were proper. When a case was heard, the Court simply determined whether or not, in their opinion, the conduct of the defendant merited punishment. If such was decided, then the vengeance was exacted as circumstances warranted. Thus, under the peculiar theocratic organization of the Colony, which looked more to the Bible for guidance than to English systems, the Court was far more strict in punishing offenders for violation of what was understood to be the ordinances of God and for fracture of the arbitrary rules and regulations of the Congregational Church, than it was in offenses against the peace and person.

Naturally, this situation was not one to be contemplated with equanimity and, when it is realized that not only was the Court of Assistants very small in proportion to the number of freemen who had the right to vote in the General Court, but that these freemen were but a small fraction of the inhabitants of the Colony, it was to be expected that, once food and shelter were assured, the principal concern of the majority of folks would be to bring about a new legal system under which their rights and liberties would be defined and not subject to the personal discretion of the magistrates, the Court of Assistants.

And just as naturally, it was to be expected that the Court of Assistants would use its great power to combat any change in the condition and, if forced to yield, would do so gracefully, no doubt, but slowly and stubbornly. In fact, legally and perhaps, politically, the Court was justified in fighting every forward step leading to

a change in the status quo, because, unquestionably, the small, weak foundation was in need of a strong, central and unified authority which, however aristocratic and despotic it might be, could be depended upon to meet the challenge of circumstances with prompt and adequate action. Winthrop, writing on this point, explains the position of the Court of Assistants: "Two great reasons there were, which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive that such laws would be fittest for us, which should arise *pro re nata*, upon occasions, etc. . . . 2. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provides, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression, as in our church discipline; and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages should not be solemnised by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant, etc. . . ."

And so, the tale of the establishment of a legal code is a long one and one well displaying the wisdom of a government in power acceding to popular demand for a change by being willing to take the first steps but quietly doing nothing to have a second step follow the first—and thus to allow the problem to drag along and die of inanition if it will or become absurd as conditions change.

The first definite voicing of a demand for a written legal code came in 1635 when a large number of deputies from the various plantations demanded at the annual session of the General Court that "some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to a magna charta, which being allowed by some of the ministers and the General Court, should be received for fundamental laws." The matter was discussed and the Governor and others were appointed by the General Court to take such action—but they carefully did nothing whatever about it.

At the next annual meeting of the General Court, 1636, the matter was once again brought into the meeting and a new committee, this time of magistrates and ministers, was appointed. The *Massachusetts Records* do not relate that this second committee did anything either but, according to Winthrop (I., 202) Cotton, a member of the committee, reported "a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method" to the 1637 session of the General Court.

Whatever this code may have been, it was not accepted and in March, 1638, the agitation for a code growing stronger, the General Court ordered that the various towns should get together, "collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws as may be suitable to the times and places where God by His Providence hath cast us" and report their findings in writing to the Governor, who was to turn the material over to a committee of magistrates and ministers, headed by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, so that it could be arranged for the consideration of the autumn meeting of the General Court. Again, however, nothing definite was accomplished.

So, in 1639, another committee was appointed to read the reports sent in by the various towns, to "draw them up into one body" and to send copies of the code thus prepared to the several towns for consideration. But still the project was delayed and in 1640, the General Court, evidently determined to push the matter, passed another order which desired the towns to consider the "Breviate of laws" which had been sent to them, "to endeavour to ripen their thoughts and counsels about the same" and to report to the General Court in a few months.

Then, in October, 1641, Mr. Ward was again requested to supply a copy of the "liberties" and nineteen copies were ordered made and distributed and in December, "the body of laws formerly sent forth among the freemen, etc., was voted to stand in force, etc." It was also ordered, however, that these laws "be audibly read and deliberately weighed at every General Court that shall be held, within the three years next ensuing, and such of them as shall not be altered or repealed, they shall stand so ratified."

The code, which became known as "The Body of Liberties," was largely if not entirely, prepared by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who had been a minister in Ipswich. (In 1645, no doubt encouraged by his legal writings, wrote the famous diatribe against women's dress and religious short-comings under the pen-name of "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," which may or may not have caused his return to England in 1646.)

Ward was a man of parts. Before entering the ministry and becoming an ardent reformer, he had studied law in England and practiced there. This legal training reinforced his unquestioned ability to perform the important duty of framing the legal code and helped to make it a very admirable piece of work. The civil laws it included were far in advance of English contemporary law and were so sound that they were adopted in substance at every subsequent codification of colonial law and, in fact, many of them, form the basis of present day law.

The criminal laws were, as was natural, influenced by the Mosaic code and, though to modern ideas, they seem very harsh, yet, really, they were mild in contrast to the English criminal code and, in the matter of capital punishment, considerably reduced the number of offenses so punished. There was also, of course, a number of laws relating to ecclesiastical matters.

In the light of other political documents, particularly the first few amendments to the Constitution of the United States, the Body's bill of rights is interesting: "No man's life shall be taken away, no man's honour or good name shall be stained, no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor in any way damaged under colour of law, or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the country warranting the same, established by a General Court and sufficiently published, or in case of the defect of a law in any particular case by the word of God. And in capital cases, or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to that word to be judged by the General Court."

The Body comprised one hundred laws. (The text and a full consideration of them may be found in Whitmore's *Colonial Laws*, 1889.) Among the more interesting are the following provisions:

That all persons, whether citizens or foreigners shall enjoy the same justice and law without partiality.

That no monopolies shall be granted or allowed, excepting for new inventions which are of value to the commonwealth—and then only for a brief time.

That any person, citizen or alien, freeman or otherwise, could attend any public court or meeting and take part in the business of such if properly respectful and in order.

That all conveyances which are aimed to defraud creditors are illegal and void.

That upon all great ponds, rivers and tidewater all householders shall have free fishing and fowling.

That all persons accused of any offense, save capital cases and contempt of court, shall be admitted to bail.

That any person who did not wish to plead his own case in court might employ any acceptable person to represent him "provided he give him no fee or reward for his pains."

That all trials, upon the consent of both parties, might be heard by either judge or jury.



FANEUIL HALL, 1776

That either party in a civil action, or the defendant in a criminal case, might challenge any of the jury.

That any person found guilty or dissatisfied with the verdict of an inferior court might appeal to the Court of Assistants or, if not satisfied there, to the General Court.

That any contract or conveyance obtained by force or duress was void.

That any person was entitled to trial by the next court following upon indictment.

That no man should be beaten with more than forty blows and no gentleman whipped unless guilty of a very "shameful" offense.

That no bodily punishments shall be "inhumane, barbarous and cruel."

That no difficulty with the Church shall affect a man's political office or rights.

"That every married woman shall be free from bodily correction or stripes by her husband, unless it be in his own defense upon her assault."

That when a parent dies without a will, the eldest son should inherit a double portion of both the real and personal estate; if there did not happen to be a son, then the daughters should inherit equally.

That no man "shall exercise any tyranny or cruelty towards any brute creature that is usually kept for man's use."

That "There shall be no slavery except of captives taken in just wars . . . and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require."

The 96th article discloses the spirit in which the Body of Liberties was framed and the manner in which it was accepted. "However, these above specified rites, freedoms, immunities, authorities and privileges, both civil and ecclesiastical, are expressed only under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact form of laws or statutes, yet we do with one consent fully authorize, and earnestly entreat all that are or shall be in authority to consider them as laws, and not to fail to inflict condign and proportionable punishment upon every man impartially, that shall infringe or violate any of them."

COURTS AND LAWYERS

With the Governor and Court of Assistants the chief magistrates of the Bay Colony for more than the first half century of its life, it is interesting to observe that none of them was, strictly speaking,

a lawyer and that, of the number, only Bellingham, Humphrey and Winthrop are known to have had any legal training whatsoever, while two others, Bradstreet and Pelham may have had some degree of reading. Moreover, what legal knowledge these leaders did possess was considered by them to be of little importance, for their concern (as well as that of the majority of the colony) was simply the creation and operation of a government based upon the Bible and thus they had no concern for and paid scant attention to the English common law and established body of precedent.

As for lawyers who practiced as such during the period, the situation was even more remarkable. In fact, there is but one such commonly known; Thomas Lechford, an attorney, did practice late in the 1630's in the Colony but, for alleged tampering with a jury, was barred from further practice and shortly returned to England. There, in 1642, he published a satirical account of his experiences with Massachusetts' courts, titled, "Plain Dealing, or News from New England."

However, as is to be expected, there were men who practiced in the courts, as attorneys. Bound by no oaths or responsibilities, without even the check of the ethics of a legal fraternity, without any responsibility and completely devoid of legal knowledge, training or principles, they naturally did not enjoy the respect of the courts or the confidence of the people. Of five such who are known, one had been or was a tailor, another a druggist and the other three merchants.

Of course, such attorneys lived best when litigation was most rife and their activities in stirring up trouble and encouraging suits, led in 1641 to the General Court specifically making barratry a punishable offense. In 1663, the General Court still further attempted to limit these amateur attorneys by excluding "usual and common attorneys" from membership in the General Court. Still, it must be recognized in evaluating the queer situation which prevailed, that there was really no need for an attorney versed in either law or practice, for cases were conducted without attention to rule or precedent and the man who could and would make a persuasive argument for a client was thereby of value to a litigant and worthy of his hire.

Perhaps a clear conception of the ideal of the administration of justice which the Court of Assistants followed, can be gained from Winthrop's comment upon the sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Ward, the lawyer-parson, before the General Court in 1641. Mr. Ward censured the practice of the magistrates who commonly consulted privately with a person contemplating the bringing of a civil suit

before the suit was actually brought to court. Some of the members of the Court approved of Mr. Ward's views and introduced an order forbidding the practice. But the order was shortly lost sight of, as some of the Assistants arose and opposed any change. Winthrop lists the arguments which these Assistants voiced: 1, that if the pre-hearing practice was forbidden, then "we must provide lawyers to direct men in their cases"; 2, that the courts should be previously informed of a pending case "that they might either divert the suit, if the cause be unjust, or direct it in the right course if it be good"; 3, that the pre-hearing practice gave "the magistrate . . . opportunity to end many differences in a friendly way, without charge to the parties or trouble to the court"; 4, that the practice not only abbreviated the work of the magistrates but also aided them in passing upon the merits of a case with justice since, in court, "no advocate being allowed, and the parties being not able for the most part to open the case fully and clearly, especially in public"; 5, that the only real objection to the practice, the allegation that the pre-hearing might prejudice the judge, was not of sufficient merit to outweigh the value of the system; "it must not be laid aside for the temptations which are incident to it. for in the least duties men were exposed to great temptations."

From all this, it is clear that the proceedings in the courts were both simple and informal. Witnesses were not cross examined in court as a general thing, the usual procedure being to have all testimony given in writing and attested in court during the trial by the witness if convenient, or before a magistrate if not. The reason for this method was that the clerks, "clarks" they were called, proved unable to keep accurate records of court proceedings, for they lacked modern shorthand practice. The jury received the written statements and considered them in reaching a verdict. Thus, all that the defendant in a criminal case, or the parties in a civil suit, could do was to argue the merits of their respective beliefs.

Even so, if a court or magistrate did not believe that the verdict of a jury was in accord with the evidence, he could refuse to accept the verdict and could send the case to the Court of Assistants or to the General Court if necessary. The case of Anne Hibbins, accused of witchcraft is a case in point. In 1656, a jury in the Court of Assistants found the woman guilty. The Court refused to accept this verdict and sent the case to the General Court. There the jury was upheld and the unfortunate soul was executed. Later, in 1672, this procedure was modified by the General Court to the extent that the jury's verdict, if legally arrived at, must be accepted by the Court

but that if a person concerned felt he was being unjustly treated, he could bring a writ of attain against the jury as individuals. However, this was again modified in 1682 by the General Court providing that, if the attainting of the jury failed, the party should be fined ten pounds, should pay each member of the jury forty shillings and be open to action for slander by the jurors.

Another law of interest in this connection, one passed in 1656, fined any person making a plea who exceeded the time of one hour, with twenty shillings more for each hour overtime.

Even more interesting was the early habit of requiring juries, when insufficient evidence for conviction was present, to bring in a finding that there was reason to suspect the defendant guilty as charged or guilty of some other crime, one not charged in the indictment. Thus the magistrate could pass sentence upon the luckless person before the bar for what the court believed him to be guilty of, although the jury did not find him such upon the indictment.

To modern thinking, accustomed to a bar firmly entrenched behind a bewildering maze of statutes, camouflaged by esoteric verbiage and surrounded by barbed wire entanglements of arbitrary procedure, so that the employment of an attorney is a necessary condition to any court action, however trifling, the Bay Colony system, may appear to be crude and faulty but it cannot be considered to be without merit or justification in that it met the situation of the time and provided speedy, firm and adaptable justice.

In the beginning, of course, the Court of Assistants was the sole body of magistrates, from whom appeal could be made only to the General Court. When the population began to grow so that the resulting legal business overburdened the Court, additional courts of justice were found necessary. So, in 1636, four minor, or district courts of a kind, were established to sit quarterly. One, in Ipswich, was for that town and Newbury. One, in Salem, was for that town and Saugus and what is now Lynn. One, in what is now Cambridge, was for that town and Charlestown, Watertown, Medford and Concord. The fourth, in Boston, was for Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Hingham and Weymouth.

These courts were to be presided over by commissioners appointed by the General Court from magistrates residing in or near the town with the addition of persons nominated by the respective towns and selected by the Court. Each court was to consist of five members, one of whom was a magistrate. These district courts had jurisdiction over all civil cases of ten shillings or less and in all criminal cases in

which life, dismemberment or banishment was not concerned. Appeals were made to the Court of Assistants.

In 1641 the General Court increased the numbers of these lesser courts and in 1650 the law was changed to cause the commissioners to be elected by the people of the respective districts. Jurisdiction in civil cases was increased to one hundred pounds.

These courts also had many other duties added to them, including probate, registry of deeds, highway construction, tavern licensing, support of the ministry and admission of freemen.

In substance, of course, from the very beginning, all members of the Court of Assistants were also justices of the peace. In 1638, the General Court began to appoint in towns, without a resident magistrate, three persons respectively to decide small cases and these minor magistrates were eventually given larger powers. The General Court also appointed yearly, a clerk of writs for each town who granted attachments and writs and issued summonses.

In summary, the evolution of the Bay Colony's Courts produced the following organization.

1. The General Court, the sole legislative body, was the final court of appeal and maintained supervision over all courts.
2. The Court of Assistants retained exclusive jurisdiction in all criminal cases in which "life, limb or banishment" was concerned, held concurrent jurisdiction with the county (quarter or district courts) in civil cases in which more than one hundred pounds was concerned and was the court of appeal from the county courts. It was also the Admiralty Court. In substance, it was similar to the present Supreme Court of Massachusetts, the General Court taking the appeals from it then as the United States Supreme Court may today.
3. The County or quarter district courts covered jurisdiction in everything not reserved by the two upper courts or given specifically to the minor magistrates in each town. Save for matters of probate and the like, they corresponded to the present Superior Court of Massachusetts and the several Boards of County Commissioners.
4. Single magistrates and commissioners who had jurisdiction in small matters. They corresponded to the present justices of the peace.

CHAPTER XII

The Bay Colony, The Long Parliament and Cromwell

Not only did Massachusetts find its great opportunity to develop itself at its own sweet will during the turbulent times in England when Charles I was being beaten by his rebellious subjects, but they came to enjoy a continuation of their freedom under the Long Parliament. In 1641, the plea of Winthrop and his associates for relief from the action of the Privy Council in placing restraints upon ships, goods and immigration "intended for Boston," was received by Parliament and an order passed which Winthrop received with joy, writing, ". . . an order was made that we should enjoy all our liberties, etc., according to our patent, whereby our patent, which had been condemned and called in upon an erroneous judgment in a quo warranto, was now implicitly revived and confirmed." Still further, in 1643, Parliament passed another order which freed New England from taxation altogether, until it pleased to establish laws to the contrary.

However, the Colony truly deserved these kindnesses for it was heartily in favor of the Reformation. The General Court officially expressed the attitude of Massachusetts in this order ". . . what person soever shall, by word, writing, or action, endeavour to disturb our peace . . . by drawing a party, under pretense that he is for the King of England, and such as adjoin with him, against the Parliament, shall be accounted as an offender of a high nature against this Commonwealth, and to be proceeded with either capitally or otherwise, according to the quality and degree of his offense . . ."

And not in words alone did they take this position but they actually swallowed an insult to maintain their position when, in 1644, an armed ship, commissioned by the Earl of Warwick, seized a ship from Bristol which was anchored in Boston Harbor on the ground that it was from a city still loyal to Charles. Winthrop, and the greater part of the citizens, were indignant at this interference with their authority and brought Stagg, the captain of the Earl of Warwick's

ship, before them to explain himself. Many of the magistrates of the Court of Assistants and the General Court were insistent that Stagg should be forced to restore the ship, because his commission did not hold when used under the guns of Boston. However, since the Court was against the King, the seizure was finally condoned and Stagg allowed to hold his prize.

The same thing occurred a few months after when Captain Richardson, under commission from the Parliament's Lord High Admiral, threatened to seize another King's ship, one from Dartmouth, which lay in Boston Harbor. Winthrop ordered Richardson to come ashore and explain himself and, upon the Captain ignoring the order, Winthrop had the battery on Castle Island fire a shot into Richardson's rigging and sent an armed party out to seize the ship. This brought Richardson hastily to Winthrop and the Court found his commission defective, ordered him to "acknowledge his error and his sorrow and to pay a barrel of powder." This being done, the Court "forbade him to meddle with any ship in our harbor." Evidently Massachusetts was willing to support Parliament once at the cost of the Colony's dignity—but only once.

But things were not destined to run smoothly for the Colony with the Parliament for, when the Presbyterian Party gained its temporary control of the English body, the picture changed at both home and abroad. It began in November, 1643, when Parliament placed the administration of all the American colonies in the hands of a Colonial Board of Commissioners with the Earl of Warwick as Chief Commissioner and Lord Say and Sele, Sir Henry Vane, Pym and Cromwell among the body. Then, in 1646, the news came that these Commissioners had granted to Gorton and associates authority to colonize the lands about Narragansett Bay. And then, a few years later, an order was received at Boston from the Parliament which caused the greatest consternation; the order directed the Bay Colony to transmit its charter to London, to accept a new patent from the "Keepers of the National Liberties" and to recognize in all her acts the authority of the mother country. With this order was a proclamation prohibiting trade with Virginia (which was loyal to Charles), Barbadoes, Bermuda and Antigua. This hit Boston both in its pride and its pocketbook, for trade along the coast to the south and to the West Indies had even then come to be of great importance.

The troubles at home focused upon an attempt to overthrow or at least limit the authority of the Congregational Church. William Vassall of Scituate, drew up a petition, which was signed by Samuel Maverick, David Yale and others, which criticised the Church rather

heatedly and requested "that the distinctions which were maintained here both in civil and church estate, might be taken away, and that we might be wholly governed by the laws of England." The petitioners were not at all backward either in threatening that, if the General Court did not act favorably, the matter would be taken to Parliament. The Court acted characteristically; it referred the petition to the next session.

When the next session came, the summer of 1646, this petition was considered at the very time the news of the Gorton grant arrived and the matter was threshed over and again considered in November. The Gorton business brought forth this declaration: (intended to set out their conception of constitutional relations with England) ". . . by our charter, we had absolute power of government, for thereby we have power to make laws, to erect all sorts of magistracy, to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule the people absolutely. . . . We conceive that in point of government . . . that no appeals or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us."

Vassall's petition was then taken up, by the Court bringing in charges of sedition, derogation of the honor and authority of the Church and the Government. The Court fined the signators from ten to fifty pounds each. The petitioners thereupon announced they would appeal to Parliament and Dr. Child and John Dand were selected to go to England and present the case to Parliament. Just before the two sailed, the Court of Assistants raided the men's homes and seized their papers, in which it was discovered that the petitioners, not content with seeking church reform, asked that a governor be appointed by Parliament and that the laws of England be enforced in the Colony. This enraged the Court who haled the whole body of petitioners into court again, fined Child and Dand two hundred pounds each, Samuel Maverick one hundred and fifty pounds and others one hundred pounds.

As the Court feared that Child and Dand might cause trouble in England, they voted to send a representative themselves. Winthrop was first chosen but eventually Winslow of Plymouth was selected to present to the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations a request that the Commission "confirm our liberties, granted to us by charter, by leaving delinquents to our just proceedings, and discountenancing our enemies and disturbers of our peace, or such as molest our people there, upon pretense of injustice." However, it was upon Cromwell that the Bay Colony pinned its greatest reliance. Letters were sent to him, beseeching his good offices with Parliament in their behalf and praying that the "Captain of the Host of Israel might be with



POWDER HOUSE, SOMERVILLE

him in all his great enterprises, to the glory of God, the subduing of his enemies, and his everlasting peace." The request fell upon a well-disposed heart. Years before, Cromwell had sought to join the Boston colony but had been forbidden to do so by the Privy Council. Thus he had a peculiar interest in the welfare of the Colony and always was eager to help whenever possible. So, it was probably due to his influence that Boston was left in peace—for Parliament failed to follow with force its demand for Massachusetts' charter and the cherished document was allowed to remain in force and the Boston folk to follow their own purposes, even to the complete disregard of the Navigation Act.

Child and Dand also failed to disturb Boston's peace for, upon their arrival in London with their petition, they discovered that "Pride's Purge" had taken place and Parliament, or what remained of it, was without favor for them. In fact, Boston was officially notified by the Commissioners that they "intended not . . . to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor to restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass than is held forth by your letters patent, but leave you with all that freedom and latitude that may in any respect, be duly claimed by you." (Winthrop, II., 319-320)

To these joyful tidings, was soon added the glorious news that Cromwell had assumed the supreme power in England. The General Court voted an address to him in which they prayed that God would be pleased to lengthen his days, and to continue him "the Lord Protector of the three nations, and of the church of Jesus Christ." And, throughout his office, Cromwell remained a true friend of the Bay Colony, although Boston treated him shabbily, refusing his request to colonize Jamaica, refusing to join in the war with the Dutch and, in general, doing whatever they pleased whether it was his wish or not.

Thus, Cromwell's reign was a period of great prosperity for New England. Steadily increasing in population and wealth, the soil, cultivated with indomitable energy; the sea, harvested with increasing skill and success, and trade, prosecuted daringly and ambitiously, all yielded an abundance of satisfaction. The necessities of life and "many of the elegances" were actually cheaper than in England. Johnson writes of the times, "Good white bread was no dainty. Ordinary men indulged their taste in gay clothing and gratified a liquorish tooth after sack, sugar and plums . . . (nor did the Colony) forget the English fashion of stirring up their appetites." Gorges wrote, describing Boston buildings, that they were "large and beautiful, whose continual enlargement presaged some sumptuous city."

Really, the Commonwealth of Winthrop and the rest, was rising to its zenith, as far as its march of practically uninterrupted freedom

was concerned. "New England, with 300 miles of sea coast, and a back-country for production whose area was limited only by the satiety of conquest, furnished ample room and opportunity for the speedy gratification of the most boundless ambition and restless energy."

Thus, secure in their gratification of progress, the death of Cromwell excited but very little apprehension in Massachusetts. Believing in the power of their good fortune, their fate which had safely carried them over every quicksand of difficulty, the General Court, worried not in the least of any day or reckoning with the Stuarts and placidly watched the stream of events in England. The Court tended to its knitting and played no favorites during the time in which Richard Cromwell and the Parliament and the Committee of Safety held sway and Charles II was making his bid for power. The Court, unlike its fervid support of the Lord Protector, did not encourage Richard Cromwell or his successors in any way nor did it, to the slightest degree, make any move which could be construed by friend or enemy to be favorable to Charles.

Even when Charles was ready to return to his father's throne in 1660, the news was not received with any misgivings. Hutchinson says "The King was not proclaimed in Massachusetts, nor was any alteration made in the forms of public acts and proceedings." While Charles was escorted to his throne and installed with outbursts of joy, by folks "who hoped that, the winter of public sorrows being over, the peaceful voice of the turtle would be heard in the flourishing spring approaching through the lands of the English domain," Boston still remained unmoved.

When the news followed that Charles had proclaimed that liberty of conscience would be the privilege of every Englishman, Boston still remained cold. In fact, when a motion was made in the General Court to address the King, the order was lost. It seems probable that Boston was following its traditional policy of waiting before moving until it was forced to do so. This attitude was doubtless sustained by the fact that news traveled slowly and uncertainly and, lacking precise and reliable intelligence of what was transpiring, the General Court believed that Charles might not become King in fact and thus, it would be best to wait until they were sure of his position before bowing to him.

But late in 1661, their agents in London informed the Colony that Charles was not only firmly seated but that petitions to the prejudice of Massachusetts were flooding in upon King and Council. At once, the General Court dropped its aloofness and executed a reverent about face. Loyal addresses were voted to both King and Parliament and

it was formally declared that "the lot of Massachusetts in the late vicissitudes, after the example of the good old Nonconformists, had been to act only a passive part." Letters were also sent in great haste to persons of quality believed to be in sympathy with the Colony, urging them to speak a good word for Boston in Charles' ear. A golden calf was even offered up in sacrifice to gain the King's pleasure. Gentle John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians," one of the most loved men of the day, had written "an odd kind of book" shortly after the execution of Charles I, in which the Apostle undertook to prove that monarchical governments are contrary to the "word of God." This book, at the time, had met with the approbation of the Court. But now, fearing that Charles II might hear of it, the General Court declared the book to be "full of seditious principles, in relation to all established governments in the Christian world, and especially against the government established in their native country." Poor, bewildered Eliot was then graciously given time before threatened punishment to disown the book. Coming forward, he retracted his opinions, acknowledged that they did in fact scandalize the King, that they did justify the "late innovations" and that the monarchical form of government was not merely a lawful but an eminent form of government.

On the surface, their attestations of loyalty to Charles had its calculated effect for in May, 1661, Charles wrote a gracious, if general reply. He promised that he "would not come behind any of his *royal* predecessors, in a *just* encouragement of his loving subjects in New England, nor would he forget to make all *good* people partakers of those blessings of liberty and moderation expressed in his declarations."

The General Court duly appointed a Day of Thanksgiving to express their satisfaction in Charles' grace publicly, but privately they were far from being satisfied. Possibly they felt that their support of Cromwell had been too enthusiastic and that the King might have been equivocal when he wrote of Royal Predecessors, Just Encouragement and Good People. This feeling of alarm was more than confirmed when, later in the year, their agent in London wrote that Charles was believed to be intending to revoke the Bay Colony Charter and that it was rumored he planned to send over a royal governor for New England and entirely alter the Colony's political, religious and legal system. John Leverett, the agent, closed his letter by saying, "Episcopacy, Common Prayer, bowing at the name of Jesus, sign of the cross in baptism, the altar, and organs, are in use, and like to be more . . . The Lord keep and preserve his church, that there may not be fainting in a day of trial"!

How Massachusetts greeted this news can well be imagined. Not merely their charter, their long cherished freedom to do just as they pleased, but their very religious establishment seemed to be facing peril. It is difficult today properly to appreciate the intensity of religious feelings of the Puritans but it can be said that Boston was profoundly disturbed.

CHAPTER XIII

Life in the Seventeenth Century

Throughout the first century of settlement of Massachusetts, two cardinal principles of social behavior run parallel; a generous recognition of mutual responsibility for each other and a stern, even harsh, system of discipline. The first is the child of the union of the will to be righteous and the will to be free. The second is the offspring of a determined effort to accomplish a just social order. As a result, a social life developed in the Colony which created a new system of values, not an English system but a system which was truly American. In fact, at least in part, it was the system upon which the modern codes of the United States are based—the virile standards of justice and honor and individual responsibility which, although they may not be commonly practiced and are frequently forgotten, nevertheless still serve to color the morals of the nation.

This legacy of the Colony has not been always appreciated, particularly by critical writers of the recent schools, who seem to consider the word, "Puritan" synonymous with all that is ruthless, cruel, forbidding and prohibitory. Undoubtedly the Colony's "blue" laws were strong, but it may be pointed out that they were such because it was necessary—they were the rules of the game under which the sturdy handful of exiles not merely struggled with difficult climatic, cultural and financial conditions but, in a surprisingly few years, won their battle. As such, it would seem rather pointless for critics enjoying a civilization the Puritans made possible to "belittle" the founders.

Perhaps the true occasion for the modern criticism is that, from the Puritan beginning, an American viewpoint has grown up which is antithetical to the European standard. In America, although the justification may not be as great as it has been, every man considers that he is entitled to at least believe that, through the fundamental justice of the United States, he has a chance to attain not the mere means of existence but whatever he wishes to work for—be it fame or fortune. In Europe, such is distinctly not the case; across the Pond,

a man of the lesser privileged classes is not permitted even to indulge in the dream of bettering his condition.

That this is wise or unwise is beside the point. Americans may be, possibly, as the critics allege, children deluding themselves with delightful dreams, children seeking "escape" from reality in refusing to face reality. But Americans may at least "escape" if they wish from reality—and at that, who knows what reality is?

The point is, however, that this characteristic of America seems to have its foundation directly in the determination of the Puritans to escape from the European system and found what they believed to be a just commonwealth. That they may have failed to do so, is not the fault of their ideals; it is rather the reaction of both time and circumstance,—and the fact that the material with which they were working was human beings!

Before considering the developments of social life in the century, it is necessary to glance at the principal circumstances.

Although largely English, the settlers were not homogeneous. In the main, they represented two distinct groups. Of these, the Plymouth Pilgrims are representative of one group.

The Plymouth settlers, although few in number in the actual settlement, were typical probably of the majority of the first wave of settlers, no matter what section of New England they established themselves in.

The Pilgrim-type was distinguished by two chief characteristics: first, they were mostly of very modest economic stature; and second, the controlling motive of their lives was not the betterment of their financial circumstances but of their moral and religious welfare. "Pilgrim" is the name justly given to those folk who came to America, sacrificing comfort and security, for the opportunity to gain religious freedom in its deepest sense.

The Boston colonists are representative of the second type of settler, smaller in number, at first (that is, when those amongst them of the Pilgrim type are discounted) but always overpoweringly influential.

The Boston men (who incidentally became the "Puritans") were unquestionably men of substance as well as scholars, lawyers, clergymen and lesser gentry—distinctly not either bankrupts, criminals or mere working men. Of course, they too were actuated by the desire for religious freedom—as is shown by the fact that in the decade before, around 1640, when the Non-conformist Laws in England were straightly enforced, the population jumped from three thousand

or so to nearly fifteen thousand by 1643 and to about fifty thousand by 1650.

But, behind this outward religious motive, strong as it unquestionably was, there was the secondary desire for two things—adventure and wealth. The lure of adventure attracted young men of education and ability who, seeing little of interest in staid England, sought entertainment in the savage land overseas. The desire for financial improvement attracted men of substance who boldly risked their positions in expectation of carving out vast estates in the wilderness. Thus, much less uniform in character, the Puritans of Boston brought to the Colony not merely their solid substance and economic abilities but also a system of morals and a love of freedom and adventure which, although for a century nominally and even longer officially subordinated to theological rule, nevertheless furnished a wider, perhaps even a cosmopolitan, element which had profound influence in determining the fate of the Colony.

The conditions of actual living in the Colony may be conveniently divided into two sections; that before 1650 and that after, although it should be understood that, throughout the century and for long after, each new wave of settlement westward repeated in its subsequent development, the original conditions which were suffered in Plymouth and Boston the first few decades. Thus, in the Colony, the frontier privations existed for many generations; in fact, just as they continued to exist for the first two centuries of the United States as migration continued to flow westward until the waves of the Pacific finally halted it.

During the first part of the century, living conditions were mightily primitive. The energies of the settlers were completely absorbed by the necessity of conquering the wilderness and in making it possible to eat and drink and sleep. But, by 1650, the job was well in hand and, though the time was thus surprisingly brief, the colonists began to devote more and more of their attention to making life not merely profitable but pleasant. Indeed, before long, in Boston and in some of the other towns, successful families began to enjoy much of the comforts and some of the graces of London itself.

HOUSES

The first houses were not, as may be imagined, snug log cabins. The settlers first provided shelter by digging in. They would join together and dig out a hole in the hillside which would be lined with side walls and then roofed over with an opening left on the outward end for a door, a door doubtless closed merely by a skin or a ragged

scrap of worn-out sail-cloth. These dwellings were not made from choice; they were built because it was imperative to provide shelter as quickly as possible and it was quicker to dig in than to build up.

These holes, however, were but temporary. Very soon, just as soon as there was time enough to spare from the first business of obtaining food, cabins were built above ground. At first, these were probably of poles set upright and chinked with mud and with holes for a door and window and a sod or thatched roof.

And very soon these first cabins were replaced by strongly built cabins of hewn planks more or less weather tight. But even so, these were relatively poor dwellings. Of windows there were either holes closed with a skin against the weather or holes closed with oiled paper as a means of admitting a little light. Of bricks there was none, and, while field stone could be used for building the crude fire-places, the settlers had neither time nor skill to build chimneys out of stone and thus the flues were built of small logs plastered together and made fire-resistant with mud.

Fires were common, as might be expected from a village of houses with wooden chimneys and thatched roofs. Each householder was his own fireman and, if the blaze got away from his personal efforts, about all the neighbors could do when they arrived was to aid in removing as many furnishings and effects as proved possible.

As the towns prospered, more and more time could be eked away from hunting, fishing and farming and thus, armed merely with axes and hand-powered saws, the settlers set about discarding the drafty log hovels for what is known today as frame construction. In this the men became marvelously proficient. They prided themselves upon their workmanship; one man boasted in a letter home that in all his life he "never made a mortise-joint which would not pinch a hair" when it was assembled. No nails were used in the framework; the joints were pinned together with oaken dowels. How well these humble carpenter-builder-architects wrought is shown by the fact that some of the houses they built are still standing today, four-square to the winds. And, as often happens when honest workmanship is combined with sincere utility, a style of house was developed which is today not merely typical of New England but is celebrated for its purity of line, simplicity of construction and outstanding aesthetic value.

Of course, in the building, the colonists now had proper materials to work with. Ships brought cargoes of brick and a brick kiln was established in Lynn or Salem by 1630. Village forges hammered out nails (nails which have not all rusted even today). Glass was blown in Salem by 1640, iron was produced in Saugus and, in fact, every

village had its artisans who could produce whatever was wanted, crudely perhaps, but skillfully and, what is more important, honestly.

In passing, it should be noted that the style of the early frame houses, in which the upper story projected a foot or more out beyond the first, was not a design occasioned by desire to fight Indians more successfully, but a style borrowed directly from England. Paint was seldom if ever used; it was much too expensive and hard to procure. And floors were another luxury which did not extend far out into the country from the sea-coast towns; trodden earth served.

Brick dwellings began to appear by 1670, especially in Boston, but wood was so cheap and, withal, so satisfactory, that bricks never became very popular—even as they are not today. Interestingly enough, even houses built of brick were frequently sheathed with studding and clapboard—for the Colonists rightly admired the grace of the hand-riven clapboard. This idiosyncrasy, which may still be seen (there is a house on the Boston-Concord road, near the latter town, which still hides the shame of its bricks behind white clapboarding), seems oddly enough in contrast with the modern building practice of veneering frame construction with brick.

INDOORS

Even in wind-tight frame houses, it is doubtful if present-day Bay Staters could long escape sickness and disease, for the dwellings were not only without the slightest vestige of sanitary arrangements (children were exhorted to “spit only in the corners of rooms”) but the houses were unheated, save for the kitchens.

It was the kitchen which was the real dwelling place. In it the family lived in all things, excepting during the summer. Bedrooms were simply places in which to sleep, nothing more.

And the kitchen was merely a room built on three sides about the fire-place. These were great structures, as they had to be to provide the necessary warmth as well as space for the constant cooking, with which the women of the household were busy.

The rear of the fire-place was filled with the “back-log”—a great length of wood often so heavy that several men or a horse were needed to drag it in from the yard and set it into place. In front of this log, smaller logs were burned, being replenished as needed. The back-log commonly endured for more than a day and was renewed, save in the coldest weather, seldom more than three or four times a week. But plenty of smaller wood was burned—the early settler burned cord after cord of fuel, even as many as two hundred in a year.

Above the constantly burning fire hung the crane, a stout iron bar swung as a hinge from pivots on the left side of the fire-place. From the crane, on S hooks, hung the iron pots in which the staple food of the Colony, corn-meal-mush was always cooking.

Meats were roasted by radiation from the flames, either being suspended above the fire on a spit, turned by a child, or else held on skewers above the heat by hand. What was the bread of the times was baked in Dutch ovens—brightly burnished open-ended metal boxes which, faced to the fire, caught the radiated heat and concentrated it upon the loaves placed inside. Ovens were sometimes built into the wall of the fire-place but, despite present opinion, these could not have been real ovens in the sense of actually cooking food but seem to have served as the modern warming oven in which cooked foods are kept hot after preparation to await the belated arrival of the men folks to their meals. Sometimes real ovens were built outdoors.

Of course, there were no matches in those days and kindling a new fire with a spark from flint and steel and tow was such a slow and arduous process that fires were seldom allowed to go out. If they did, instead of striking a spark, a child would be dispatched to a neighbor to "borrow" a metal box of live coals.

About the hearth the women spent their lives and about it during the evenings, the men drowsed and basked before daring the icy beds which awaited them. Whittier's "Snow Bound," although much later in time, presents the picture of the family about the hearth so perfectly that it is presumptuous to attempt repetition. For generations, Americans lived by, with and through their leaping open-fires and to this steam-heated age there still remains a, possibly, inherited, love for the burning of wood in the home that is one of the sincerest pleasures of the colder months.

And the open-fire served the Colonists not only for heat but also for light; eyes were not strained over print in those days and the flickering flames were ample for the simple tasks of knitting and spinning and carding and whittling with which even in their leisure, the Colonists must need improve the fleeting hour. For extra light, when needed, pine knots were used. They were thrown upon the hearth and the oozing pitch leaped up with fierce if smoky radiance.

Impaled upon a spit, a blazing pine knot made a passable lantern. For a more enduring, if less brilliant torch, a tightly twisted roll of birch bark served. Eventually, probably soon after 1650 home-made candles became common. Housewives saved their tallow, twisted wicks from rags of garments and, once or twice a month, melted the grease either dipped the wicks repeatedly into the pot or poured

the grease into rows of candle-molds—molds which can even today be obtained for a few cents at auctions back in the hills. Whale oil shortly displaced the tallow candle in rough lamps while, for the homes of wealth in the towns, the fancy sperm candle was eventually developed, a candle which gave a bright, white light and neither “smoked, stunk or melted” like the plebeian “tallow dip.”

The Colonists were hearty eaters, hearty trenchermen whose ordinary fare would give even a modern lumber-jack pause. They had to eat; they toiled with axe and hoe and gun from sun-up to sun-down, and three-square meals were needed, indeed. But, if they ate largely, their dining was not fashionable at first, although in the towns manners soon came to be as elegant as in London or Paris itself.

At first, and back in the country for several generations, arrangements were of the simplest. Forks were not commonly known and the “fingers were made before forks” principle served to convey anything solid enough to hang together from the table to the teeth. For liquids, spoons carved out of wood or horn were used, although all but the poorest homes had one or two silver spoons with which to keep up with the neighbors on special occasions. Knives were, of course, common and no doubt served to lift peas and porridge as well as to cut meat and vegetables.

For dishes and ewers and bowls and the like, there was some silver and plenty of pewter, but like the silver spoons, these heirlooms were not for everyday use. Food was ordinarily served up in wooden trenchers; bowls and platters shaped out of wood, often beautifully and skillfully carved.

If dishes and weapons for the table were few, manners were in accordance. Commonly one or more persons shared the same trencher of porridge or stew, and it must have been interesting to see several knives and as many hands busy exploring the contents of a steaming dish brought from the fireplace.

Drinking utensils were likewise scarce and the flowing bowl did not sit at ease beside each service but passed from hand to hand and mouth to mouth down the table and back again on the other side.

But if manners were lacking according to modern standards, etiquette was not. The father and mother sat enthroned at the head of the table along with whatever adult guests were present. They were above the salt. Below, were the children and the servants. Above the salt one might talk and eat as one wished, but below it, it was strictly enjoined that silence must be observed, that meals must be eaten as

quickly as possible and that children and servants had to leave the board as soon as they were "moderately satisfied."

And, if the stools were lacking, as was usually the case when company came, servants and children stood as they ate. They could not even smile at a jest while, as for breaking into a conversation or even paying the slightest attention to anything but eating, that was unheard of in the early days. "Children should be seen and not heard" was an adage strictly observed, one may be sure, whatever may be the situation today with modern child psychology in effect.

RUM!

The Colonists were fond of their liquor—which was, particularly in the later half of the century and thereafter, rum. In fact, it might be said that rum was the spirit of the Colony. Few meetings of any kind were conducted without the stimulation of the spirit. Taverns elbowed meeting houses and never a public session was held without the air being strong enough to "knock a woman over." Labor demanded rum as part of its wage. Almost everybody drank in those days—although it was not respectable to become intoxicated and confirmed drunkenness was punishable by fines and public whippings.

The whole history of the liquor business in the first century of the Colony is enlightening. Innkeepers were licensed and the prices they charged strictly codified by law. Moreover, each innkeeper was required always to provide a sufficiency of "wholesome beer" for whoever wanted it. Wine and liquors were permitted but strictly limited; no person was allowed to drink "above a half pint of wine at a sitting" or to continue drinking for more than half an hour, or to indulge himself at any unseasonable time or after nine at night. Innkeepers were also commanded to prosecute any patron who behaved in an unseemly manner; if he failed to do so, his license was revoked.

Thus did the authorities, from the very first, seek to limit serious drinking and to encourage the imbibing of allegedly harmless beer. But it was all in vain; brewed liquors went begging; wine and distilled spirits were all that interested the rank and file—even as now. Laws were evaded upon one pretext or another and the stricter and more inclusive they were made, the more agile and able the evasions grew.

At first every home was its own brewery and winery; every housewife priding herself upon the strength of her home-brew or the variety and boquet of her wines. But, as drinking of liquors increased

distilleries were founded (at first for export purposes only, apparently) and, before the turn of the century, liquor flowed almost without restraint—for those who could keep clear of the law without slipping over the border-line between conviviality and intoxication.

WORKING CONDITIONS

In Massachusetts everyone worked with his hands; even Governor John Winthrop, leading man of the Colony, worked at farm tasks when the press of official business released him from conference and his writing-table. For the men, there were the fields and forests, rivers and ocean to harvest for a living. Hard labor was the only means of livelihood, and so they toiled mightily.

Women had the homes to maintain and even the lordliest of the dames did more work before breakfast than the most "over-worked housewife" of today does in twenty four hours. Children were not exempt. The boys worked in the corn field along with father and the older brothers as a matter of course, and the girls were brought up from infancy to help in the house with cooking, sewing, spinning, carding of wool and the thousand and one tasks that a colony demands of its women folks.

There was no idleness, ever. The Biblical injunction about earning one's bread by the sweat of the brow was literally true of the Colony for many generations. Only after the wilderness was conquered could trade and commerce begin and commonly, at first, they were side issues; the merchant was a farmer first and planned his ventures and kept his books only when the seasons released him from the hoe and plough.

With so much work to be done, and despite the large families which were not unwelcome, the larger establishments needed extra help—not as servants in the sense of releasing master and mistress from their tasks, but rather as additional hands whose labor would make larger and more ambitious undertakings possible for the family group.

These servants were of two kinds; indentured servants and slaves. The first class was by far the largest. It was composed of men and women who were too poor to buy a passage from Britain to America and so contracted to sell their services for three or four or five years to whoever wished to purchase them in exchange for passage. This group was also augmented by political and other upper grades of persons who ran afoul of the British Courts and were sentenced to labor in the Colonies rather than to be confined in jail or even executed.

No stigma was attached to these servants. They came, worked out their indenture, or bond, and were free to join the Colony as respectable citizens—which by far the greater number of them became. Relations between these servants and the masters who bought their time were strictly governed by statute. The servants had to work hard and earnestly; punishment for idleness and disobedience and violations of the peace of the Colony was very severe. But, the master was bound to treat them properly, to feed, house and clothe them decently and to provide for them in all ways “fitting to their station.” For example, if the bonded servant was a minor, the master was obliged to expose the youngster to the benefits of a common education and upon release from the bond to give him a suit of clothes and a small sum of money. The system had its abuses, but it was in no sense slavery.

However, the supply was far less than the demand for labor, and thus Massachusetts resorted to actual slavery to meet its needs. Indians were the first slaves; women and children captured in the Indian wars were sold like so many cattle, when they were not awarded to some officer, who either distinguished himself or belonged to good connections.

Even so, the Indians were not willing enough or numerous enough to meet the market, and so negroes began to be imported, probably beginning about 1660. It was also common at that time to take several Indians south on a trading voyage and bring back negro slaves from the West Indies in exchange. But, all in all, the Colony did not ever seriously become a slave Colony. By 1700 there were in all probability fewer than two hundred blacks in the Colony and most of them were used as superior house servants in the homes of the wealthy families.

However, in spirit, the Colony was convinced of the justice of the institution. The first code of laws of the Colony, the so called “Body of Liberties” of 1641, might have deserved its title as far as freemen were concerned, but not at all for the slaves. It reads (Article 91) “There shall never be any bond slaveries, villinage or captivities amongst us unless it be lawful captives taken in just (sic) warres, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the libertys and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by the Authoritie.”

Of this, George H. Moore, in his *History of Slavery in Massachusetts* comments: “Thus stood the statute through the whole

Colonial period, and it was never expressly repealed . . . it is an absolute recognition of slavery as a legitimate status."

Nevertheless, many persons even in Colonial Boston, disliked slavery, possibly not so much the institution as the treatment of humans it made possible. Religious objectors warned of the wrath of Heaven, but economic conditions were at work which made slavery expensive and thus it never rooted deeply and soon became extinct save for a few body servants of merchant-princes; slaves who probably were better housed and fed than the average citizen.

But, considering the circumstances, even the average citizen was not badly off. Probably the lot of the average wage earner was at least comparable to non-depression times today and certainly far superior than during depressions. The reason for this fact is that the Colony needed every pair of hands it could obtain. For any man willing and able to work, there was work and plenty of it. Of course, manual labor then, as always, was driven and poorly paid, but the standards were constantly tending higher.

In the beginning common labor received about fifty cents a day while women, in house-work, received a few pounds, (perhaps twenty to twenty five dollars) a year, plus their "keep." This may not sound as sufficient to keep body and soul together; but, really, it was ample, for the cost of living was equally low. For example, one could have a respectable house built for one hundred dollars while, at sales of real estate, similar to "forced-sales" today, house, land and furnishings could be bought for less than that amount. A good suit of clothes, clothes that would wear from father to son and down the line until the smallest boy in the family finished them years later perhaps, cost but three or four dollars, depending upon the material. Food was even cheaper, for the most part, and, if a family was content with native meat, game, fish and agricultural produce, an income of one hundred dollars a year meant reasonable comfort and satisfaction.

RELIGION

Solidly behind every honorable man in the Colony stood the church. With the Colony actually founded upon religious motives, the clergy had control of affairs for generations, instituting in fact a theocracy which ruled with an iron rod long after most of the settlers ceased to concern themselves with the other world, finding plenty to do and even more to think about in the new world they were conquering.

But, during the better part of the first century of the Colony, the ordinary citizen was not at all aware of the divorce proceedings being



OLD NORTH CHURCH, BOSTON

Courtesy of Boston Chamber of Commerce

instituted to alienate his interests from church to state and, accordingly, the meeting-house was the sun about which his conscious life revolved and swung.

Although the clergy were, nearly all, very well educated men comparatively, the religion they thundered from their pulpit and held their parishioners to exemplify all the days of their lives was, to put it charitably, a rugged faith, one which made physical demands as well as spiritual. Mental demands were not rigorous, for the ministers were willing to do much of the thinking for their flocks.

The Sabbath began not on Sunday morning with the weary folk catching up on

their week's sleep, but at sun-down on Saturday night. The eve of Sunday was as holy as the day itself and no disrespect was suffered, either from native or stranger. All of the Sunday was spent at the church in listening to sermons four and five hours long and to following prayers which, if they endured but an hour, were considered rather weak. No napping was allowed, either; a churlish officer would parade up and down in some of the churches armed with a long pole which bore at one end a fox's tail, and a metal knob at the other. The fur was to warn the women folk and respected elders if the flesh so far overcame them to cause their eyes to close and their heads to nod; the metal knob was to rap the skulls of

children and less important elders who were disrespectful enough not to pay attention to every word of the lengthy and involved discourses. In the summer, this might have been endurable enough, but in the winter it must have been sheer torture to sit for hours on stiff, upright benches with not a calory of heat provided. Bitter as the weather might become, men, women and children had to sit in respectful silence; babes were baptised their first Sunday even though ice had to be broken in the font. The wonder is not so much that the death rate was high, but that the Colony was not exterminated. So much for the physical demand. The spiritual seems, by contrast with the theology of today, to be even greater.

It was no merciful and loving Christ that the Puritan clergy preached; their God was the stern, vengeance-exacting Javeh or Jehovah of the Old Testament, a religion made all the more gloomy and fearsome by its tincture of Calvinism, a Calvinism which was to reach its fullest flower in Jonathan Edwards at the very time when it was fast fading away under its own blighting logic. It is impossible for us today to realize the actual terror the ministers kindled in the less emotionably stable members of their congregation. Children are reported to have awakened screaming in their sleep after a day of "successful" preaching, and even grown women went in fear and trembling



OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE, BOSTON

Courtesy of Boston Chamber of Commerce

lest they could not be "saved" but were foredoomed, no matter what their virtue, to everlasting torment.

Serious as this was—and its reaction is all too painfully clear in the penal code and the Salem witchcraft episode—the church was also harmful in its stern repression of recreation and pleasures which today seem not merely innocent but tame. Dancing, the drama and music were banned. Even Santa Claus was exiled.

PENAL CODE

With a government virtually theocratic, thus placing in power men who did not enjoy the benefits of legal training, the Colony's early penal code was founded on the English Common Law as a matter of course; but, instead of being interpreted in accordance with the comparatively humane body of British precedents, was read in terms of the Bible—which was, essentially that of the Old Testament. Thus the code was at once amazingly comprehensive and brutally severe. Charity and mercy are words which the Colonial clergy did not read in their authority—indeed such was the common habit of Europe.

Instead of there being but one crime punishable with death, as in most States at present, the Bay Colony started out with ten capital crimes and subsequently added others. The first decalogue consisted of murder, larceny, perjury, treason, bestiality, adultery, sodomy, blasphemy, witchcraft and idolatry. The second list included arson, repeated burglary, cursing or striking a parent, repeated denial of God, repeated highway robbery, return to the Colony of exiled persons (Quakers and Jesuits), man-stealing, rape of a maid or unmarried woman and the rebellion of a son against parental authority.

However, the code was seldom enforced save in cases of murder and witchcraft, although probably examples of death for many of the above "crimes" could be discovered—even if the early Colonial records are far from complete.

Probably the chief distinction of Massachusetts law lay in its belief that human beings could be reformed or forced to lead religious lives by the force of law and severe punishment. Possibly this principle is also a characteristic of the United States as a whole even today,—and of other countries, as well.

If the penal code was ready with the death penalty for what seems to us today minor offenses, the early code was equally severe upon the offenses it did recognize as minor. Whipping was the commonest sentence for a whole host of little sins, and women as well

as men were beaten. Whippings, as were all punishments, were public, and afforded entertainment for the populace.

The stocks were another common punishment for small things and, although no one was probably ever seriously hurt by standing for hours in snow and storm, sun and heat, it must have been painful indeed to face the folks of one's own town with head, feet and hands securely held by heavy oaken beams. More severe perhaps was the opportunity the stocks afforded one's enemies to "get even" by tossing over-ripe eggs and fruit, laughter and jeers.

The ducking stool of England may have had its proponents in the Colony but the usual punishment for a shrewish woman, particularly one "with her tongue hung in the middle and wont to wag at both ends" was to gag her with a length of cloth and "fasten her to her own front door to be the mock of neighbors."

But there were other punishments less humane and interesting. For burglary, if the burglar escaped with his life, he would be apt to have his ears "cropped" and receive a whipping in the bargain. For confirmed dislike of authority and lack of caution in talking about one's principles, one might be put in the stocks at first, whipped soundly a second time and the third time banished from the Colony, while the death penalty could be evoked if the case was serious enough. A vagabond, or a heretic, or an habitual rogue could be whipped, cropped and subjected to other forms of treatment concluding with a branding upon the forehead. (Witness Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*.)

Of course, for the wealthy there were fines but, on the whole, the Colony's laws were enforced with admirable impartiality. No matter who the criminal was, Governor or not, the Courts held his station in respect only in so far as the amount of the punishment was concerned. A wealthy man, an employer, a pillar of the church and the rest, could not very well be exposed to the jeers of the commonalty—position had to be respected—but fines hurt as well as whip-strokes and fines were duly assessed and collected. For example, Governor John Endicott himself was fined forty shillings for assault upon a citizen and Sir Richard Saltonstall was fined five pounds for whipping a culprit because he neglected to have the proper witnesses present when he administered justice. Harvard students, flirt with the Cambridge Police as they will today, were not respected for their position: in 1674 one student was whipped before the entire student body because he had been blasphemous. Prayer was offered before and after the ceremony.

Thus, strict as the law was, harsh as it was, it had the funda-

mental merit of being just to all, under the circumstances, and this, is indeed, something that was not an outstanding characteristic of European codes of the time—or today either, for that matter. For example, England is considered to be reasonably impartial in administering justice today. Yet, if a noble commits murder, he is not tried before a judge and jury, but before the House of Lords. Of course, if he is found guilty, he is hanged as competently as any Cockney.

If such is true today, what must conditions have been in the early 1600's when the Puritans left England?

WEDLOCK

Oddly enough, with the clergy in complete control of the government, the marriage contract was not a religious sacrament until 1692. Until then, and even today, marriage was and is a civil matter. It was performed by magistrates as well as the clergy.

The old, so-called, Scotch-system, whereby a man and a woman were legally married by merely publicly announcing that such was their condition, was not permitted in the Colony either, at first, although it was made legal in 1661.

To be properly married during most of the seventeenth century, several details had to be complied with. First, the would-be Benedict had to obtain the consent of the bride and the bride's parents. Then the fact had to be announced, the "banns published," three times before the ceremony could take place. Then, and only then, could the magistrate perform the ceremony.

Great strictness was observed in keeping the magistrates in line, too. In the village of Rowley, a town clerk lost his license because he united a pair without the groom's parents' consent, although he clearly proved that he acted in good faith and was misinformed as to the facts. The Court held that it was his business to know the facts before he performed the ceremony, and so punished him.

Child marriages were not frowned upon particularly, as women were in great demand at first because of their scarcity. But the Court was very strict in making sure that no child was sold into marriage for payments either real or intangible and in cases where an orphan girl was to be married while a minor, it was necessary for the contracting parties to obtain the consent of the Selectmen of the town in which the girl was resident. This was probably a matter more of property consideration than of child welfare, for a young girl with an inheritance might prove tempting bait for some ambitious father with a surplus of sons.

Widows were in great demand and were eagerly sought by newly-made widowers. This is clearly understandable not only because women were scarce and therefore valuable but because the Colonial home needed both a house-keeper and a mother to keep it in operation. Child-bearing was practically continuous and a man would often have three or even four wives in the course of his career—if he could find them. There was no false modesty about remarrying quickly, either; frequently only a few weeks would elapse between funeral and wedding, and a wait of a year was exceptional. What would you?—the children had to be taken care of and the house kept going.

MORALITY

It seems fashionable to think that there was a great deal of immorality amongst the Puritans, using the word in its commonly narrow sense of sexual irregularity. There were cases of illegitimacy. There was that intriguing custom of bundling. And there were cases in which young folks whose banns were being published, neglected to wait until the magistrate was satisfied and did his office.

As for the first complaint; there never has been a society of any size in which every child is born legitimately. However, the number of illegitimate births, so far as is known today, seems to have been relatively small.

As for bundling! Quaint custom. A “sparking couple” would be forced to make their first adventures in understanding not merely in public but under the watchful eye of the parents beside the kitchen fire. To retreat into the shadows of the kitchen meant abandoning the warmth of the blaze. So, to enjoy the slight degree of privacy possible, and yet not freeze to death, the young folks used to wrap themselves up in a single blanket and sit absorbed in each other until Father cleared his throat and sent the young man home for the evening. Whatever may have been the later development of the practice of bundling, it seems certain that at first it was nothing more than an innocent adaptation of courtship to the exigencies of Colonial life.

As for young folks being in too much of a hurry to wait until their banns were completely published: the practice is not uncommon today in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

And of course, there were perversions. What else could be expected in a new state where the women were outnumbered two to one? However, probably the lumber camps and the forecastles of ships of today could teach wandering Puritans more than they ever dreamed possible.

Mixed marriages and divorce are commonly used as gauges of a community's morals. In Massachusetts, while inter-marriage with Indian women was not frowned upon, although not encouraged, yet relations with negro slaves were fiercely repressed and any person so "defiled" was banished from the Colony.

Divorce laws were very strict in comparison with today, although they were more liberal than in England. The Colonists brought with them the idea that there were but two reasonable causes for divorce—adultery and desertion. To these causes, the Puritans shortly added cruelty and breach of the marriage oath.

In fact, the Puritan system of morality shows itself as fundamentally admirable when the status of women is concerned. The first Provincial Code (1641) provides that no woman should be subject to bodily correction or stripes by her husband, "unless it be in his own defense upon her assault." Further, the Code provided that, should there be any need of a husband correcting his wife, he must complain of her to the Court and accept the finding of authority upon her guilt and degree of fault.

Husbands and wives were not even permitted to be demonstrative in public, kissing in the open was punishable by the stocks, as one Captain Kemble discovered upon his return from a three year voyage. He kissed his wife upon his very doorstep and was forthwith sentenced to sit for two hours in the stocks for "lewd and unseemly behavior."

All things considered, the Puritans seem to have been morally upright and decent bodies, a group of men and women far in advance of their day and age, persons to be respected for their ethics even today.

EDUCATION

The fundamental earnestness of the Puritans displays itself clearly also in their concern with the education of their children. If the first public building a settlement erected was a church, the second was a schoolhouse. Higher education was the first to receive official attention. In 1636, out of their poverty, the General Court voted to find the funds with which to establish a college, and thus Harvard University had its beginning, the first college in the Americas, save the Spanish institutions of learning in provinces south of the Rio Grande—which had at least a century behind them before Massachusetts lost a tree from its forests. The University at Lima, Peru, is one hundred years older than Harvard.

Primary and secondary education were not long neglected. The Boston Public Latin School, the first of its kind, waited only a few years behind Harvard, and by 1647 the people as a whole were so

concerned with the benefits of "learning" that the statute was enacted, which required every town of fifty families or more to have a school in which the three R's could be expounded, and every town with one hundred or more families was required to establish a grammar school in which students could be prepared for Harvard. In modern terms, this meant that every village had to have an elementary school, similar to the present day grammar school, while the larger settlements had to support the equivalent of high school.

We make much of adult education today. This feature was not neglected in the first days of the Colony either. The ministers were all University trained, and many of them were scholars of distinction, men who wielded influence across the Atlantic. It was the duty of the minister to not only preach to his flock but to instruct them, and thus the sermons were not all theology, but at times broad, general discussions of matters far afield from the worship of the Lord, *per se*.

More particularly, for the education of adults and the advancement of learning, the printing press was not long neglected. In the first half century of the Colony, not less than three hundred books were published. Most of these, to be sure, were religious in character, but mingled with the tomes (which were not dry and dusty in those days) were works of history, education, philosophy and even poetry, of a kind. About 1650 a book-store was established in Boston which imported a varied stock of books from abroad. It prospered so well that, inside of twenty five years, it had seven competitors.

PUBLIC WELFARE

And in still another feature of their social organization did the Puritans display their admirable qualities: in the day when debtors were imprisoned and families left to starve upon the streets of the capitals of Europe, the struggling little Bay Colony founded a system of public welfare which has led the nation in the care of its unfortunate citizens.

Of course, in these days of billion dollar expenditures by the alphabetic agencies of the Federal Government, the budget of the small Massachusetts village or town is a trifling matter. What is important, however, is that the worthy elders laid down fundamental principles which, to this present hour, serve as a most effective, humane and valuable poor relief system.

The first principle is that everyone must be cared for.

The second: that the responsibility is properly and distinctly that

of the particular municipality in which the unfortunate principally resides or has resided.

And the third is that the poverty-stricken person is not an outcast, not a criminal, but a fellow citizen who is actually entitled not to charity, but to neighborly assistance.

In the beginning, there was no charity problem whatsoever. Everyone who came was able-bodied, and there was work and to spare for everyone. If a man lost all, there were plenty of folks ready to employ him—so many in fact that many towns found it necessary to establish maximum, not minimum, wage rates, to prevent eager employers from paying more than a laborer was judged to be worth and thus limiting the progress of the Colony.

But, eventually, death created widows and orphans and sickness incapacitated men from toil—as did old age. Thus paupers came into being.

The Colony immediately took steps to ease the situation by providing that every child had to have someone responsible for him. By this means, orphans were provided with homes—homes where of course they were required to labor, and labor arduously, but still they were fed, housed and clothed and, by law, again, educated as well.

Then as the class of immigrants changed, idle men drifted into the Colony. These, sad to relate, in some cases refused to work enough to support their families; they worked just enough to keep the innkeepers in good humor. So, the Court solved that problem by declaring that, if a man did not choose to support his family, the Colony would force him to do so by making him work, and having the master responsible for him and to see that the family received sufficient to support them.

By these means, the pauper class was kept small. But there still were paupers who could not be provided for in this manner. So, to meet this ultimate need, the Court clearly fixed the statutes to make it mandatory upon each town to care for its own. The legal determination of responsibility was termed “settlement” and the system is still in force.

For some three hundred years the towns and cities of the Commonwealth have been quarreling over settlements. Under present law, a person acquires settlement when he resides continuously for a term of years in any town, no matter where he may have been born. This settlement stands until the person spends the term in some other town. The modern pauper is somewhat floating by nature and disposition, going on the principle that “It is cheaper to move than pay bills” so it often happens that settlements have to be traced back for

twenty years or more. Consequently, the questions are deeply involved but, as far as the pauper is concerned, it is nothing for him to worry about since the town in which he elects to live must support him and then seek reimbursement from the town in which the person apparently has his settlement. This is a really serious matter. The City of Boston, for example, carries hundreds of thousands of dollars in unpaid settlements upon its books and there is not a single city or town of any size that does not each year pay out and receive thousands and thousands of dollars in settlements.

Today, the settled cases receive aid, usually in cash, for what a carefully planned budget system, supervised by the State, requires. In the old days, there was very little cash given, if any. Recognized paupers were given certain privileges, that was all. They could have the use of houses and land owned by the town in question; they could even have the privilege of milking the town cows. And, if they were unable to obtain the necessities of life by this means, the town authorities saw to it that clothing, food and shelter were provided. This duty of caring for the poor was rested squarely upon the shoulders of the Selectmen of the towns. Today, the Selectmen still shoulder the burden, in many towns, although in larger towns there are Overseers of the Poor, while in cities the more euphonious Public Welfare Department carries the load.

If euphony is the watchword today (the word pauper has been stricken from the legal dictionary, incidentally) the early Colony made no bones about the matter. When application for public welfare was made, the Selectmen brought the case to the attention of the town meeting and the unfortunate was discussed openly and frankly in every detail. No chance for malingering with such a system.

Unfortunately, about this time, the method of auctioning off paupers to the lowest bidder was imported. One Mary, widow of Thomas Blank, for example, has applied to the town for support. The moderator reads off the report of the Selectmen. The case is discussed. The motion to bind the Town to her maintenance is made and passed. Then the moderator offers the unfortunate for "sale" to whoever will agree to support her in his own household. Perhaps the bidding starts at ten pounds the year. Another man thinks that perhaps the aged widow will be useful in helping with the children, so he offers to support her for five pounds. Another may have the same idea and will bid four pounds six and so it goes. Perfect for the tax rate, doubtless, but rather unpleasant for the victim. Fortunately, the system did not win support, being replaced shortly by the institution

of the poor farm or poor house where the town's poor were gathered together and supported as economically as possible.

Two other developments in the latter half of the century are of especial notice as establishing precedents which have endured to this date.

The first came in 1675 when the Colony voted to pay to the various towns certain sums to help the towns in supporting the victims of King Philip's War. This established the idea of "State Aid," an item which today bulks very largely in the welfare picture.

The other was in 1660 when a stubborn child was ordered by the Court to be placed in an "honest godly family." This established the principle that children in need of aid were charges upon the State and, more important, that they should be cared for not in institutions but in private homes—a system still in vogue today and a system which distinguishes Massachusetts' fundamental humanitarianism.

THE OTHER HALF

If today, the lower half of the population is little concerned with the conduct of the upper portion, such was not the case in the Colony. It was every man's business how his neighbor conducted his affairs and the first century of the Colony is one long drawn out struggle between the wealthy folks fighting for the freedom to eat and drink and clothe themselves as they wished and the middle class who wished to hold everyone down to a common level of outward behavior—"seemly conduct." Of course, wealth won; but it took a century for it to do so.

From the very beginning, colonists with money, and those who acquired it, built better and better houses and lived in greater and greater comfort. What went on indoors was personal business and the citizens could not meddle with that—even if they had wished to.

The difficulty and the trouble came mostly with matters of dress. The demure Puritan maidens with their grey gowns and white caps must have been attractive; but they did not think so for they dreamed of the silks and satins and laces of London, and their brothers were not far behind. In fact, a man's turn-out in the seventeenth century was very apt to outdo that of the women.

So, in 1634, the authorities deemed it necessary to curb extremes in clothing by passing "sumptuary laws" which, among other things, forbade the wearing of any garments with silver, gold or silk lace upon them. Within a few years, the importunities of the women so pestered the General Court that it designed to ease the situation by permitting a narrow edging of lace on outer garments.

However, the Colonists could neither manufacture, sell nor wear coats with more than one slash in each arm or with more than one slash in the back. This was a great pity, for the slashes were designed to display to the envious world the glory of the silks and satins with which garments were lined. Gold and silver buckles, ruffs and costly hats were also prohibited and no "plus fours" could be worn either, for men were expressly forbidden to wear "immoderately baggy breeches." However, it was all in vain. Magistrates themselves wore finery and gradually the sumptuary laws faded until by 1685, they were dead letters.

The Court also tried to compel men to be sober in the arrangement of their hair. However staid hair-cuts on men's heads and necks are today, in the first century of the Colony, men were as vain of their hair as women and wore it as long as they could with convenience, and had it curled and dressed with all the care and skill that their purses permitted. But this "Blue Law" also proved idle and was abandoned late in the century.

Failing to work the miracle by direct action, the clergy sought to make finery absurd. Listen to one of them, Nathaniel Ward, self-styled "Simple Cocker of Agawam": "When I heare a *nugiperous* Gentledame inquire what Dresse the Queen is in this week: what the *nudiustertian* fashion of the Court; I meane the very newest: with *egge* to be in it in all haste, whatever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if *shee* were of a kickable nature, than either honoured or humoured. . . . It is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive how those women should have any true grace, or valuable *vertue*, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotic garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely luster, but transclouts them into gant bar-geese, ill-shappen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hieroglyphs, or at best French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English woman should scorne with her heels. I can make myself sicke at any time, with comparing the dazzling splendor wherewith our Gentlewomen were embellished in some former habits, with the gut-foundered *goosdom* wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched. We have about five or six of them in our Colony: if I see any of them accidentally I cannot cleanse my phansie of them for a *moneth* after. I have been a solitary widower almost twelve years, purposed lately to make a step over to my native country for a Yoke Fellow: but when I consider how women have tripe-wifed themselves with their cladments, I have no heart for the

voyage, least their nauseous shapes and the Sea should work too sorely upon my stomach. I speak sadly."

But the campaign of ridicule was even less effective than laws and ordinances and the mode of the British Court continued to work its influence so strongly that by the time the century turned, the rift between the two classes was definitely established and Colonial society from its original single level became sharply divided. The well-to-do had all the ease and comforts they wished. They loaded their boards and their backs with whatever fancy dictated.

But they were not numerous, and the rank and file of the Colony still clutched to its heart the simple life, honest, laborious, but the very essence of idealism, the idealism that made the Commonwealth the mother State of the Union in the love of liberty, the desire for justice and the freedom to live uprightly.

CHAPTER XIV

Elimination of the Indians

Hardly more than fifty years were consumed by the settlers of Massachusetts, from the time Plymouth was founded, until the Indians were eliminated for all time from within the present limits of the commonwealth. However, the wonder is not that such a brief period is concerned but rather that the fact was accomplished without serious bloodshed until the final few years.

Of course, the Indians were doomed to extermination from the instant the first settler landed on the shores. Certainly the Indians were not aware of this for many years and probably the colonists did not consider it for some time. Thus, early and definite attempts were made from the beginning to establish amicable relations, and that these were established and maintained for nearly fifty years explains why the settlers were able to make a peaceful expansion of their settlement and then, when the time did come in 1675, wipe the Indians out thoroughly and competently.

Whatever may have been the experience of the Indians with the first white men, the fishers and explorers in the years preceding 1600, it is clear that the original encounter with Englishmen was not such as to fill the breasts of the redskins with either admiration or respect. In 1614, Captain Thomas Hunt, one of the officers of Captain John Smith's expedition for the exploration of New England, was detailed by Smith to load one of the ships of the expedition with furs, obtained by trading with the Indians along the Cape.

Left alone, Hunt seized upon the opportunity to turn a few dollars into his pockets. Enticing a score of unsuspecting Indians aboard just as he was ready to sail, Hunt caused them to be imprisoned in the hold. Long before they, or the tribe, knew what was afoot, the ship slipped away for Europe where, landing in Spain, Hunt sold his captives as slaves.

This conduct, which cannot well be wholly condemned since it was probably proper enough for the times, had both good and bad results. The bad result was that, as the news spread through the

tribes, it created emotions of hatred and distrust, the first fruits of which the Pilgrims experienced in 1620 when, on the night of their landing, they were terrified by blood-curdling war-cries and a shower of arrows from a war-party which, afraid to attack openly the guns of the landing party, attempted to frighten them away in the darkness.

The good result came through a happy accident. One of Hunt's slaves somehow made his way to England from Spain and there, kindly treated by an English benefactor, was shortly returned to Massachusetts through the offices of a fishing expedition. This Indian was Squanto, or Squantum, who, joining with the Pilgrims shortly after their arrival, possibly only to exhibit his command of the English language, proved of great value to the Plymouth Fathers, teaching them how to hunt and fish, how to plant corn and "pumkins" and, what is more important still, enabling the white men to establish friendly relations with the encircling tribe of Wampanogs. Tradition has it that, without the aid of Squanto, the Pilgrims would have starved to death. Be that as it may, it seems at least probable that, without the good relations he was instrumental in establishing, the Indians might have easily attacked Plymouth during the "starving time" and massacred them without difficulty.

Samoset was another friendly Indian who also helped the Pilgrims. He had not enjoyed Squanto's advantages but had met fishing Englishmen along the coast and had thus picked up a few words of English, an accomplishment which doubtless electrified the Fathers when, some months after their arrival, he walked into Plymouth and exclaimed, "Welcome, English!"

The good feeling the Plymouth Fathers established with the Indians, through Squanto and, possibly, Samoset, forms one of the few honorable features of relations between white and red races.

In 1622, there was an Indian scare and a fort and other defensive works were hastily built, but the matter came to nothing. The same year, it is alleged, a settler in what is now the town of Weymouth, half-way between Boston and Plymouth, forced some Indians to give him corn—the story being that the Indians declined to sell the grain when offered something in barter. Plymouth's Captain Miles Standish decided that the Indians were altogether too threatening in their attitude as a result of this episode and determined upon teaching the red-skins a lesson. He assembled his little band of soldiers, marched into the area of impending conflict and, through the ponderous office of gun-powder, gave the Indians a lesson in good manners.

Shortly afterwards, however, the Fathers entered into negotiations with Massasoit, the leading chief of south-eastern Massachusetts, and,

by the aid of Squanto, accomplished a treaty. This agreement, which curiously enough, was in the form of a mutual defensive military alliance (perhaps the Indians respected Standish's guns), provided that both sides would promptly punish any of its members who caused harm to any member of the opposite party.

For forty years, until the death of Massasoit, this treaty endured, freeing Plymouth from the Indian peril and reacting also to the immediate advantage of the Indians in a few ways, such as trading opportunities and exposure to the "benefits" of civilization. Of course, less honorable members of both Plymouth and the Indians violated the treaty now and then but, by and large, it was scrupulously maintained until about 1665.

Massachusetts Bay was far less successful in its Indian relations, although it enjoyed a great advantage in that the settlement was made in the territory of the Massachusetts tribe, practically all destroyed by sickness just prior to the advent of the Puritans.

In fact, Boston was only seven years old when a force from the future metropolis, perpetrated one of the least creditable massacres that can be charged against English arms. The trouble was with the Pequot tribe in Connecticut. Difficulty with the tribe began in 1634 when a trader on the Connecticut River was killed by the Indians. Massachusetts demanded that twenty five Indian chiefs of the tribe be surrendered to the tender mercies of the colony as a means of satisfaction, but the Pequots managed to explain the affair by saying that the trader was killed only after he attempted to imprison two Indians. (The slaving incident of Captain Hunt still bore fruit, evidently.)

Because the Pequots offered a treaty with Boston as well as an explanation, and since Boston was finding trading up the Connecticut River with the Pequots remunerative, the apology was accepted officially, although with private reservations.

The trouble flared again in 1636 when John Oldham, another trader, was killed by the Narraganset Tribe on Long Island. Despite the fact that the Narragansets were enemies of the Pequots, and that clearly the Pequots had no responsibility for them, an expedition from Boston set out to punish the Pequots.

Actually, this expedition did nothing more than seize a store of Pequot corn, but the clear faithlessness of the Boston men inflamed the Pequots who retaliated by raiding the Connecticut settlements of Wethersfield and Saybrook.

In the spring of 1637, Massachusetts took the field in earnest; treaty or no, they left Boston determined to teach the Indians a "stern lesson." Passing through the country of the Narragansets, the Boston

punitive expedition, easily persuaded the Narragansets, who, of course, really did murder Oldham, to join with them in educating the Pequots.

Counseled perhaps by the Narraganset allies, the twin forces stole upon the Pequot town of Mystic, surrounded it, set fire to it and, in the resulting panic, massacred some six hundred Pequots. The total loss to the Boston force was two killed, while twenty were wounded. Boston, of course, did not count the losses of the Narragansets, which, however, could not have been heavy, for the Pequots were utterly surprised and helpless.

This massacre was bad enough, although it might possibly be excused on the ground of legitimate armed conflict. But what followed seems without excuse.

During the confusion, naturally, a number of Pequots broke through the cordon of Boston men and Narraganset braves and sought safety in the woods. The Narragansets rounded up many of these and, possibly after they had been sated in blood, held a group of the captives for the attention of the Boston force. The record of what followed is not clear but it seems that some fifty of the women and children were marched off to be sold as slaves while a number of the men were rowed off shore and drowned.

After three hundred years, it is difficult and unnecessary to judge this affair although it is reasonable to attempt to understand the reasons for such barbarity. The blood-thirstiness of the Puritans has been advanced as a reason; that seems unfair and untrue, although times were rougher then than now and the life of an Indian was held in low esteem. Probably a second reason, that the Puritans were in terror of the Indians and considered it necessary to protect their practically defenseless outlying villages and farms by the teaching of as bloody and horrible a lesson as possible, is more nearly just. But, even so, the matter is difficult to understand for, if the settlers were so panicky about the Indians, why did the authorities wink at the trade with the Indians in gunpowder, shot and guns? This seems today a criminal practice on the part of the traders and at least insane, unless it was venal, on the part of the authorities.

At any event, the lesson was taught and its effect was to prevent any further serious trouble for many years. Whether or not the lesson would have been so effective if nothing else was accomplished in Indian relations is at least questionable, but the point cannot be determined; for, early in the 1640's, a determined essay was made to extend to the "red brethren" the "benefits of Christianity." John Eliot, a lovable, kindly and self-sacrificing Christian gentleman, came to head this proselyting. He genuinely devoted his life to the welfare

of the Indians and emerges today as one of the most respectable personalities America has seen.

His first attempts at "sowing the seeds of the Gospel" failed because, as he himself was the first to see, the Indians were unable to understand him. So he determined to learn the Indian language and at length was able to preach directly to the tribes. But still he was not successful. Sustained by his immense faith, he then embarked upon a gigantic dual enterprise: first to translate the Bible into the Indian tongue so that they too might have "The Word"; second, to teach selected Indians so that they might become missionaries and themselves successfully convert their brethren.

For years he labored at these tasks. His first translation was so



THE OLD PYNCHON FORT

defective, in the light of his increasing knowledge of the Indian tongue, that he made another. And, to the Bible, he added translations of other important religious works. Finally, even this did not satisfy the zeal of Eliot and he embarked upon the stupendous task of educating the Indians in secular matters so that they might become truly civilized. At Natick, he accordingly established an Indian school and started his teachings.

The task of educating the rude savages was no light one and it shortly became necessary to formulate a code of rules for the preservation of the peace. Violations of the code were punished by fines as the only acceptable means, for Eliot could not bring himself to act upon the Indian method which, in mild cases at least seems to have consisted of beating defendant, plaintiff and all known witnesses.

Eliot's code was rather unconventional. For example, it provided that any squaw who failed to tie her hair properly in position, or who had it cut like a man's, must pay five shillings. Men who wore their hair long were also charged five shillings. Anyone who was idle for a week also lost five shillings and the habit of killing body lice by cracking them between the teeth cost the offenders five shillings a conviction.

In this missionary work, Eliot, though the most ambitious and industrious, was not alone. On Martha's Vineyard, the Elder Mayhew and his son, converted many Indians, as did Elder Bourne at Plymouth. At Boston, no less a personage than John Cotton carried on some missionary work, too.

All in all, though the missionary work was confined to the coast and failed utterly to reach the stronger up-country tribes, probably about five thousand Indians were converted. This was a remarkable accomplishment, and all the more praiseworthy because it was not merely pious but thoroughly constructive.

To the Colony it was of immense advantage, for it not only secured the peace of the frontier and gave the white man valuable allies and a first class military intelligence organization, but it boosted the quiet penetration of the uplands by settlers, opened profitable avenues of trade and in other ways "aided and abetted the settlement of the Colony."

With this in mind, it is difficult to understand why the authorities at Boston and, by and large, all of the settlers, were suspicious of the converts. With evident mockery, the converts were dubbed "praying Indians" and were generally placed on a lower social scale than their brothers who either refused to have anything to do with Christianity or who considered that they would not be benefited by denying their own inherited religion.

Two examples indicate this suspicion of the converts clearly. When war did finally break out, Eliot's school at Natick was broken up and all its members confined on Deer Island—a treeless barren island off the shore of Winthrop, now the Boston City Prison, a secure pen then guarded by fierce tidal currents.

The other example occurred in Chelmsford where some unknown Indians burned a barn. At once the Chelmsford folk organized a punitive expedition and, raiding the nearby village of "Praying Indians," murdered a boy and wounded women and other children. Even Boston could not stomach this incident and caused the arrest and trial of the "murderers" but, in keeping with popular opinion, the culprits were "whitewashed and acquitted."

Undoubtedly the colonists had reason to doubt the success of the conversions, although it is a point which cannot be determined, for the Indians, like the hospital patient who underwent a "successful operation," have all died. To modern minds it seems that it was not so much the Christian religion which attracted the Indians as it was the personality and open friendship of such Christians as Eliot that made them allies if not true converts. Be that as it may, it does seem certain that the authorities made a mistake in not profiting politically by the religious labors of the missionaries. Oddly enough, this failure was in direct violation of the royal charter given to the Bay Colony, for this document expressly charged the Elders to "communicate the gospel unto the Native Indians."

In 1661, the beginning of the end of the Indians dawned; Massasoit died. Through the sheer force of his authority he had maintained the peace. Now he had passed and there was no one to follow his policy. His son, called Alexander by the Colony, did not openly move against the settlers. He was, or now seems to have been, a weak, indecisive man, who, unable to rule as strongly as his father, followed a policy of delay in all things.

This irresolution was fatal. Not only were the settlements expanding ever more deeply into Indian territory but avaricious members of both sides were constantly creating friction. Greedy traders unquestionably fattened by cheating the Indians while, as for the other side, the Indians would as readily kill a stray cow as they would a deer; possibly they preferred beef to venison.

Things began to ripen in 1674 when traders reported that Alexander had at length determined to make war upon the colony and was actually attempting to persuade the Narragansets to join with him. Alexander replied that this was not true; he claimed that the wily "Gansets" were merely attempting to foment trouble.

However, the colony was suspicious and Alexander was summoned to Plymouth to answer the charges in Court. When he failed to appear, an expedition was dispatched to bring him in. Alexander was surprised and arrested. On the way back, the Chief was taken ill and, upon his promise to send his son as a hostage, allowed to leave for home. Death overtook him on the way.

The Indians were greatly disturbed over the matter. They alleged that the settlers had poisoned Alexander and would soon repeat the Pequot massacre on a larger scale.

Philip, Alexander's brother succeeded to the "throne." Possibly no other Indian has been so misjudged as King Philip. He was undoubtedly a truly great man, intelligent and able. It is fashionable

to charge him with a life-time of sinister plotting against the colonies and with devilish ingenuity in accomplishing his plans.

The truth however, seems to be that Philip simply recognized that it was his fate to attempt to save his people from destruction and he set about doing it, not through hatred of the settlers, but as a grim necessity. To the work he brought such rare ability and talent for diplomacy and organization that he became a serious menace to the colony. So, naturally enough, he came to be the focus of all the animosity the white race felt for the red.

Philip's grievances were many. First of all, he probably saw very clearly that the continued expansion of the colony could mean only one thing: the destruction of his people. Secondly, he distrusted all the efforts the settlers made towards converting his subjects as being only a hypocritical campaign of extermination. He did not even spare the saintly John Eliot this distrust and consistently worked against him. And a third grievance, to name but one more among many, was the insistence of the Colony that its own form of justice must be imposed not merely in cases between settlers and Indians but also between Indians and Indians. For the colony, this was but the assertion that "English justice follows the flag," but to Philip it meant that the colony was determined upon substituting its system for that of the Indians, whether the Indians wished it or not.

Thus, when Philip came into the purple, he was ready not only to defend his people but eager to undertake retaliation and, eventually, a war of redemption.

Naturally, the sky rapidly darkened with clouds. Plymouth summoned Philip to explain himself. He explained and signed a new treaty, in which he hypocritically renewed Massasoit's covenant. Boston too began to join Plymouth in fear, and called Philip to its bosom, where another unsatisfactory and idle treaty was advanced. Both sides became aware that hostilities were brewing and both began preparations in earnest.

By 1674 the situation was tense and Philip so far ready with his alliances and plans that he, interestingly enough, replied to a new demand from Boston that he come and explain his actions, that he would talk with King Charles, if the monarch wished, but as a King himself he could not treat with the mere subjects of another.

From all that can be learned, Philip's ambitious plans were based upon a general offensive by the Indians in 1676; but his braves got out of hand a year too soon. The direct cause of hostilities came at Plymouth early in 1675. An Indian, one Sassamon, a Christian, came to Plymouth and informed the authorities of Philip's designs. Sub-

sequently, he was found murdered. Plymouth arrested three members of Philip's immediate tribe, convicted them of murder and executed them.

This fired the tinder; Philip could no longer restrain his younger men. On June 20th, a small party attacked Swanzey and an Indian was killed. A week later, ten colonists were killed and the war was on.

The first business of both sides was to obtain allies among the other tribes. Philip unquestionably had understandings with most of them and would have been able to command general support had his hand not been forced. As it was, however, the colonists were able to persuade numbers of Indians to stand aside, although, as the war went on, Philip increased his strength.

While Boston was busy with this diplomacy, it did not neglect the advantage of an immediate attack. A column of some hundred men was dispatched the same day the news of the outbreak reached Boston to attack Philip's stronghold at Mt. Hope.

Philip, unprepared, abandoned his village and hid. Consequently the Boston force found Mt. Hope deserted. As they arrived, the expedition learned that the adjacent village of Dartmouth was being attacked and, hastening there, relieved the town and captured more than a hundred Indians, who, it is said, surrendered upon a promise of fair treatment. Whether the treatment they subsequently received can be considered fair is open to doubt; the entire number was sold into Spanish slavery.

Meanwhile, with Boston busy at Dartmouth, a second and a third force from Plymouth and from Taunton had surrounded Philip in the swamp where he was hidden with several hundred warriors. The colonists moved cautiously to the attack, reasonably enough, but Philip, taking advantage of this fact, escaped with his men and fled westward.

Although the colony was still hopeful of winning the war by persuading Philip's allies to desert him, on August 2nd, this hope had to be definitely abandoned as, on that day, a delegation from Boston, going to meet delegates of the Nipmuc Tribe at Brookfield were greeted with arrows instead of words. The Boston men fled in haste to the Brookfield fort. There, for two days, the citizens of the Town were besieged by howling Nipmucs who, failing in direct assault, started to burn the fort down by means of flaming arrows. Luckily, just as the fort did burst into flames, a relief expedition from Lancaster arrived, in time to save the citizens but too late to extinguish the flames, which reduced the town to ashes.

In September, the Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies united, under the authority of the New England Confederacy, to put a thousand men into the field against the Indians. The men might

just as well have been left at home for the force lacked leadership and discipline, and accomplished nothing.

The particular geographical position of the advanced settlements laid them open to attack. Almost without protection of any sort, they were dependent upon themselves for resistance against the Indians. If attacked, everyone who could, crowded into a stout house, or fort, if there was one, and essayed to hold off the Indians until a relief expedition could arrive from the nearest town.

Philip made the most of this, and early in the fall, Deerfield, Northfield and Hadley were attacked, Philip himself leading the raid upon Hadley. He and his eight hundred or so braves were finally repulsed and this seems to have discouraged Philip from further immediate war-fare, for he spent the remainder of the autumn to the west, looking for support and also attempting to persuade the New York tribes to attack the Dutch.

When winter came on, he returned to Massachusetts and went into winter quarters with the Narragansets, who had a palisaded village with substantial log houses on an island in a great swamp in Rhode Island. The Narragansets were not in open war against the Colony, being under a more or less meaningless treaty.

When Boston and Plymouth learned of this, the two Colonies really united in a strong attempt to wipe out Philip and the Narragansets along with him. A "presse" was authorized—the parent of the modern draft—and a thousand men put under arms.

On December 19th, 1675, an Indian prisoner guided the colonists to Philip's hiding place and at once the thousand settlers went into action. Thanks to the superiority of weapons, the white fighters gained the day, fired the village and killed more than a third of the Indians plus an unknown number of women and children, who were slain in the fighting or burned to death. Philip himself escaped with a few men, leaving the settlers to count their seventy five dead and 150 wounded.

Despite this great victory, a massacre which was even bloodier than the Pequot horror in 1637, the war continued all winter with the Indians taking the initiative and the settlers repulsing them as best they could. Lancaster was attacked in February. Before dawn more than a thousand Indians swooped upon the town and killed or captured practically everyone. Medfield was visited a few days later but, although much of the town was burned, most of the citizens gained the block-house and resisted the attack. In March, Groton was practically destroyed, as was Warwick, in Rhode Island, and Marlboro. In April, Bridgewater experienced fire and tomahawk, as did Sudbury, and Scituate.

But, with the spring, the growing peril served to unite the colonies, and the weight of the settlers' resources, superior weapons and discipline under fire began to count. Under the leadership of stout Captain Church, the settlers, instead of waiting to be attacked as individual villages, put their forces together and marched to meet the Indians. This at once halted further raids upon the settlements and drove the Indians upon the defensive.

After a busy summer, mostly spent in marching, skirmishing and marching again, Captain Church was informed by an Indian, who hated Philip, that the King was hiding at Mt. Hope, his old home. On the 11th of August, Church surrounded the neck of land, posted his men so closely together that not "a snake could creep between them" and began the attack.

Philip at once attempted to break through the ring but fell with two bullets in his heart. His body was dismembered and his head sent to Plymouth, where it was received with "a thanksgiving feast."

With the death of Philip, the war collapsed. The remnants of the tribes fled either to the Hudson or moved up into Maine and New Hampshire where the war dragged on. For two years the settlements of the two northern states suffered raids and the horrors of Indian war, but at length, the local forces, aided by a company from Boston, accomplished so much destruction among the Indians in the winter of 1677-78 that on February 12th, 1678, the Indians surrendered and the war was ended.

The war was bloody and desperate for both sides. No estimate of Indian losses is possible; it is sufficient to say that whole tribes were wiped out and, in fact, the Indian as a menace was eliminated forever from Massachusetts, sickness eventually accounting for the few spared during the war.

The loss of the colonists can be estimated. Probably something like a half a million dollars was spent in military activities, an enormous sum for the times. Nearly fifty towns of the ninety odd within the field of hostilities suffered, and a dozen were utterly destroyed. Of the six or seven thousand men in the colony of military age (which in those days was from sixteen to sixty) about one out of every ten was killed.

But, despite the heavy financial and personal loss, the war did not prevent the continued growth of Massachusetts. Burned houses and burned towns were speedily rebuilt and the settlers salved their grief in the multitude of tales of bravery and heroism that the perilous years witnessed.

CHAPTER XV

Controversies with the Crown

The year 1661 was one of grave alarm in Boston. No longer did ships from London bring the happy news such as they had carried during the Protectorate. Instead, there was a continual stream of rumors that Charles was being subjected to endless complaints about the sturdy folk of the Bay Colony; enemies at Court were busy impeaching the Colonists' loyalty, integrity, honor, justice and even morality. This was bad enough but the Navigation Act, which was aimed at confining the carrying trade to British ships, navigated by British crews, was economically perilous; in fact, it seemed to threaten the very foundation of New England's prosperity.

Thus, in June, the General Court was forced to conclude that something had to be done to remedy the situation. Charles had not yet been publicly proclaimed in the Colony. Massachusetts, among the first to desert Charles I, was the last to welcome Charles II. But, unless the Colony was to enter into a state of rebellion by continuing tacitly to deny the King, it was evident that Charles must be recognized. However, before this was attended to, the General Court convened an assembly of elders and magistrates to consider what policy they should follow as "honest, prudent and faithful men."

Right here appears definite evidence of the possibly unconscious determination of Massachusetts to be independent; to enjoy the rights of Englishmen without being under obligation to perform the duties of Englishmen. This is made clear by the assembly's going to work and drawing up a formal declaration of rights as a statement of their reason for condescending to proclaim Charles. To gain the friendship of Charles, they expressed the Colony as being willing to "endeavour the preservation of his Majesty's persons and dominions" and declared that the royal warrants for the apprehension of the regicides (who had sought shelter in the Colony from the King's reach) ought to be served. But beyond these concessions, and the choice of abject and meretricious language, the assembly would not budge out of its phlegm. Instead, they added to their avowal of loyalty and affection, several

statements of the Colony's rights, which included the principle that the Colony had full authority in all civil and ecclesiastical cases to punish without appeal, except where there was conflict with the laws of England; that the Colony was legally justified in resisting by force of arms all attempts to injure the Colony or abridge its privileges; and that "any impositions prejudicial to the country and contrary to its laws, not repugnant to the laws of England" were infringements of the Colony's charter rights. This declaration of rights was forthwith adopted by the General Court and thus the fundamental principles for the great struggle one hundred years later were established. And so, with these reservations, in August, Charles was proclaimed in the Colony, not with rejoicing, but in the spirit of a disagreeable duty. Instructions were issued forbidding any disorderly conduct, and no person was permitted to claim any indulgence for unseemly expression of joy. It was forbidden to drink the health of the King and no public day of thanksgiving was announced, although it was the common custom of the Colony so to observe any day of importance.

Charles proclaimed, the next duty of the Court was to mend the strained relations with London, and it was decided to send a special mission to Court. John Norton and Simon Bradstreet were elected to the duty but they were unwilling to accept. But, after being promised compensation for any damages they might sustain, in person and property, they sailed in February, 1662, to "exhibit the colony as loyal and true, to endeavour to remove from the colony all stain of scandal and reproach, and to ascertain his Majesty's apprehensions concerning the Colony." In all things, however, they were ordered never to prejudice the charter and constantly to inform the General Court of their fortunes.

Arrived in London, the two agents were agreeably surprised at their reception by the Stuart. How they might have been received is indicated by the rumors which circulated in Boston to the effect that they had been arrested upon arrival and were confined in the Tower of London on charges of treason. Instead, Charles treated them with kindness and indulgence and promised them that he would confirm the charter rights if only the Colony would remain faithful and loyal to the Crown. In particular, Charles desired that all laws passed during the Protectorate, which were contrary to the honor of the Crown, be revised; that the ordinary oath of allegiance to the Crown be properly administered; that justice be conducted in the royal name; that liberty of conscience (i. e., religious freedom) be granted to the Church of England within the Colony; that the religious test for magistrates and officers be abolished; that all persons of honor and decency be admitted to the Church; and that all respectable freeholders, be given the right

to vote for officers and laws they were obliged to obey. If, said Charles in substance, the Bay Colony will accept these conditions "I will waive the past; I will graciously impute the violation of the charter to the iniquity of the times rather than to evil intention; and, passing over the illegality of your constitution, will confirm your privileges to you and your children forever." (Hutchinson)

With this gracious forgiveness, a veritable pardon, expressed in writing over the King's name, the two agents returned in September, joyful. Hubbard writes of them, "They came like Noah's dove, with an olive-branch of peace in their mouths." But the General Court quickly soured their delight, declaring that what the agents considered as favors from Charles were "no more than might well have been expected" while the attached conditions were "grievous." The agents told the Court that if the King's grace was refused, "the blood that might be shed in consequence would lie at their (the Court's) door." To this the Court responded that the agents had betrayed their trust and "laid a foundation of ruin to the liberties." Norton died very soon after this, supposedly of a broken heart at his fellows' ingratitude. Bradstreet was of stouter mold.

Meanwhile, of course, the King's letter had to be published, but the Court insisted that "Inasmuch as it had influence upon the churches as well as the civil State" no action should be taken until sufficient time had elapsed for ripe consideration. In October a respectful but evasive reply was returned to London and, on the surface, things went on as before save that it was ordered, for the very first time in the Colony that the style of writs should read "You are hereby ordered in his Majesty's name . . ." instead of, as formerly, merely, "You are hereby ordered to . . ." But, underneath, really a considerable change was underway. The first flood waters of religious enthusiasm had receded; many of the first settlers were buried, and their sons, becoming wealthy, were in that proportion unattracted by the severe simplicity of the faith of their fathers. Nominally, the reins of government were in the hands of the first arrivals, Endicott's shriveled fingers still held the helm, but the Court of Assistants were slowly but steadily yielding to a more democratic spirit, particularly as they grew more and more distrustful of the inspiration of the pulpit. The clergy, of course, were still steady in the saddle but not unaware that their civil powers were on the ebb and that soon political policy would be decided in the councils of the General Court and not in secret meetings as before.

Although content to flout the King by ignoring all of his "requests," save the empty one of using his name in the administration

of justice, the leaders of the Colony were well aware that, in this passion for independence, they were in danger of precipitating trouble. Such indeed they shortly had reason to fear was coming, for, during 1663, rumors spread from England that a royal fleet was preparing to sail for Boston to bring a party of gentlemen representing the King. These, it was reported, were to seize the charter, depose the Court and rule with an iron hand. The spring of 1664, the Colony devoted to preparing a reception for the royal commissioners. The charter was hidden so that it could not be seized, regulations were adopted to essay the prevention of the feared landing of armed men and, in May, a day of fasting and prayer was set aside for the invocation of Divine protection. Thus Massachusetts again coupled prayer for celestial aid and preparation for armed resistance.

Sure enough, the rumors proved true for, in July, the royal commissioners arrived. But, to their relief, the Colony discovered that their holy charter was still permitted to be in force. The Commission, according to a letter they brought from Charles, had not the least intention of violating or infringing the charter. In fact, the Commission was both mixed in personnel and purpose. It was first, to visit New England and obtain information concerning it for Charles rather than to execute any changes; to effect the "reduction of the Manhadoes"; to "decide all complaints and disputes and abuses that might exist among the Colonies" (This was concerned with Mason and Gorges' patents in Maine and New Hampshire); and to "extinguish those malicious calumnies which wicked spirits labor to infuse into the minds of men, that our subjects (in New England) look upon themselves as independent upon us and our laws, and that we have no confidence in their affection and obedience." The Commission was composed of Col. Richard Nichols and George Cartwright (whom Hubbard reports were "eminently qualified with abilities"), Sir Robert Carr (of whom, and Cartwright, Hutchinson wrote "they were unfit for such a trust"), and Samuel Maverick, well hated in Boston but a prominent and respected citizen in New York, where he had established himself after leaving Boston in disgust.

The first act of the Commissioners was to drive the Dutch out of New York. Accordingly, they immediately requested the Colony's governor and Court of Assistants for speedy and prompt assistance. Characteristically, the officials dodged the issue by calling a session of the General Court. The Commissioners, who left for New York at once, urged the Governor to bring about speedy action and also hinted that the General Court would be well advised if they considered anew Charles' former proposals "procured by your agents and to which you have returned unsatisfactory replies."

Glad to aid in defeating the Dutch, who were thorns in the flesh of the Colonists' Indian trade, the General Court, out of their military strength of four thousand men, promptly voted to arm and send two hundred men—who were dispatched, but arrived too late to participate in the Commissioners' speedy "reduction of the Manhadoes." But here the Court stopped, postponing any effective action until the return of the Commissioners and until they had received a reply from a new letter, which they prepared and rushed off to Charles together with a petition for grace from several hundred prominent men. This letter is an ingenious address. Reciting the history of the Colony, setting forth their charter rights and claiming that they had always endeavored to satisfy the Crown so far as was consistent with their duty to God, the letter "complains that the Commissioners seem likely to subject them to arbitrary power which would be particularly obnoxious since one of them, Maverick, was an avowed enemy of the Colony." The letter acknowledged that there had been discontent and divisions in the Colony but alleged that the majority of the people were satisfied with present conditions. Finally, stating that their greatest ambition was to lead a poor and quiet life in a "corner of the world," the writers said, "Royal Sir, it is in your power to say of your people in New England, they shall not die. It was an honour to one of your royal ancestors, that he was called the poor man's king. It was Job's excellency that, when he sat as a king among his people, he was a father to the poor. They are a poor people who now cry unto the Lord their king. Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have further cause to say from our hearts, let the king live forever."

Meanwhile, the Commissioners, having finished in New York, and having made a tour of the rest of New England, returned to Boston in February 1665. En route they had received the submission to the king of all the other colonies and thus Boston's hope of New England Confederacy presenting a united front to the Commission was still born. But, standing solitary, the proud neck of the Puritan Colony was unbowed.

The first act of the Commissioners was to request the Governor to call a general assembly of the freemen of the Colony so that the royal representatives might address them directly and clear away all false ideas and deny "vile rumors." This the Puritan leaders refused to do. The Commissioners wisely dropped the matter and in May addressed the General Court, requesting that the letters of the Colony to the King and his answers be published. The Court, fearful that the Commissioners were acting with duplicity, required first that the

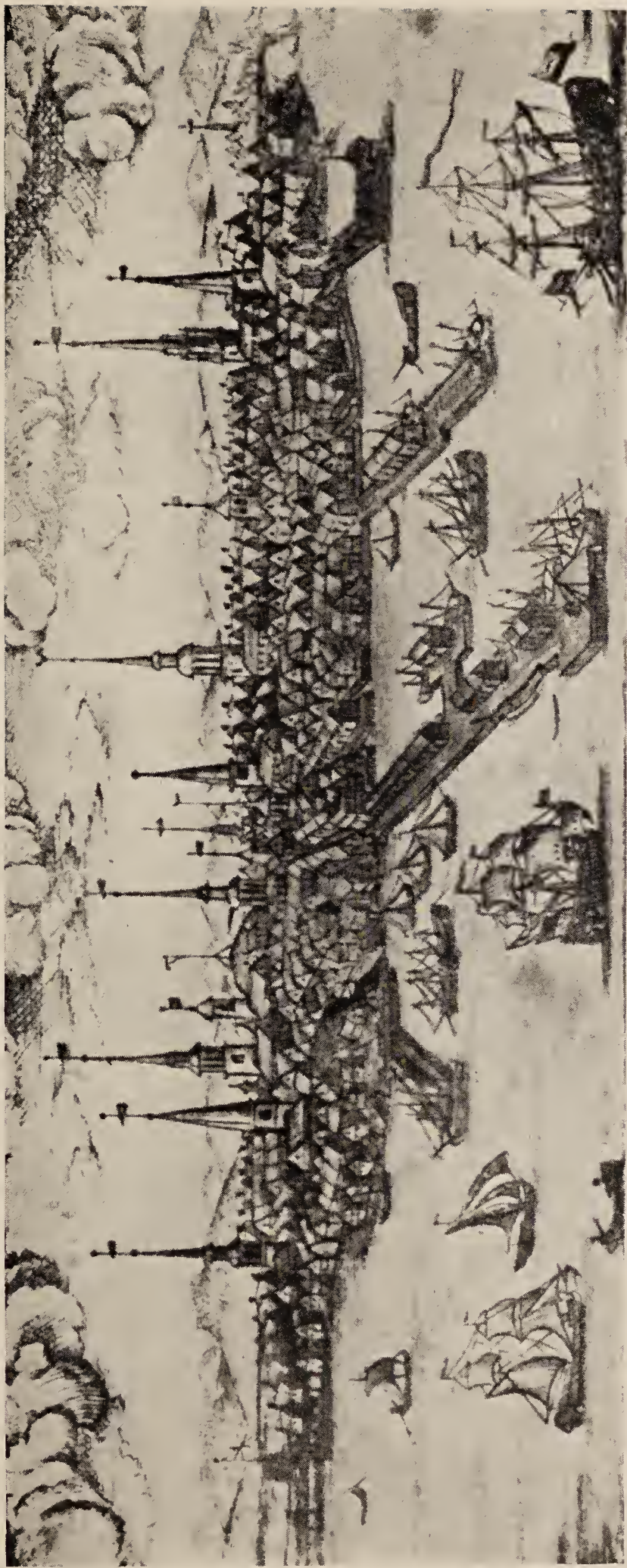
Commissioners show their hands by divulging the full extent of their authority and their plans. This the Commission refused and then the Court, reserving the liberty to change their action, if occasion developed, replied that they were willing to confer with the Commissioners concerning the best method of arresting false rumors and ideas and asserted that the Colony's letters and the King's replies had already been broadcast.

At this, the Commissioners, after general talk, communicated to the Court the body of its royal instructions, which called for a full and sweeping investigation into all manner of things from conversion of the Indians, establishment of roads and schools, to political matters. In all this Charles' intention to recognize the unquestioned great and worthy accomplishments of the Puritans, was clear. For example, no accusations against men in office were to be heard unless preferred by men of equal rank to the defendant and no complaints were to be received unless concerned with violation of the charter and English common law. Yet, fundamentally, the Colony was to become a defendant before the tribunal of the King, in the persons of his Commission. The Charter made them a corporation, as a corporation they were thus to be judged upon the merits of their conduct.

The position of the Commission was strengthened at this time by Lord Clarendon, sending an answer to the letter the Colony had sent to Charles. The Chancellor wrote: "I know not what you mean by saying the Commissioners have power to exercise government there altogether inconsistent with your charter and privileges, since I am sure their commission is to see and provide for the full and due observation of the charter, and that all the privileges granted by that Charter may be equally enjoyed by all His Majesty's subjects."

With this rebuff, the General Court could no longer delay, and answered the specific charges brought to their attention by the Commission. Their reply absolved themselves of all guilt, claimed that the charter had not been violated in that the Word of God governed them for all ecclesiastical purposes as being superior to the King's letters, and they pointed with great pride to the establishment of Harvard in Cambridge and to the work which their educational system was doing in training the youth in principles of sobriety and virtue.

To the Court, the Commissioners replied that they "were sorry to find that the court, in interpreting the charter, put more value upon their own conceptions than the wisdom of the king." To force the issue, the Commission then asked if the Court would acknowledge the authority of the Commission. The General Court equivocated; the Commission insisted upon a direct answer; the Court finally declared



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that, under the Charter, it could not "determine the power, intent or purpose of the Commission."

After this denial, nothing remained for the Commissioners to do but to test their authority by exercising it. So, organizing a Court, they summoned the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay to appear before it and plead to two test cases, one civil and one criminal. Did the Puritans march meekly into Court? Not a bit. Roger Clap, in his "Memoirs" expresses the spirit of the folk. "The Lord stirred up a mighty spirit of prayer . . . put wisdom and courage into the hearts of his people." The General Court absolutely neglected the summons, proclaimed that the Commissioners had violated the Charter, and threatened to imprison any person who dared to bring a case before the Commissioners. Insults were showered upon the Commissioners; they were so slandered and impeded that they shortly concluded they could accomplish nothing. So, they announced that, since they lacked force to execute the royal command, they would refer the matter to Charles, who had the force to make himself obeyed. Thus ended that phase of the Commission's work; in effect, Massachusetts was in revolt. The Commissioners separated among the other Colonies and contented themselves with reporting to London.

It might have been expected that Charles would have taken stern measures to bring Massachusetts into line. He did not do so. In 1666 he again sent a letter which, although no longer affectionate, merely annulled the authority of the Commission and ordered the Colony to send delegates to his court to the end that he might personally hear the Colony's arguments and judge accordingly. Charles, of course, was very busy at home with court intrigues and domestic troubles and could not spare much time for the little business of Boston. Thus, emboldened, Boston not merely set to work to regain the control of Maine and New Hampshire which the later Commissioners had sheared away, but flatly declined to send the delegates the King ordered. To camouflage somewhat this open disobedience, however, they sent Charles a letter in which they artfully questioned the authenticity of the King's letter on the ground that Maverick, their enemy, had delivered it to them. They also, during the progress of the French and Dutch War, gave the King a magnificent gift of spars for his Navy, gave a gift for food to the victualing of the West Indian fleet and, when the Great Fire swept London, generously raised a large cash donation for the relief of the stricken city. The village of Charlestown alone gave more than a hundred pounds. These acts of kindness were genuinely appreciated by Charles who, despite his vice and indulgences, never utterly lost his natural good-nature and mildness of heart.

Thus, until 1676, Boston was left in peace and great prosperity ensued. Chalmers estimates that in 1673, New England had 120,000 inhabitants. Of this number, more than seventy-five percent lived within the Bay Colony. As there were no custom houses or revenue officers, English navigation laws were forgotten and trade flourished mightily. "All nations had free liberty to come into their (New England) ports and vend their commodities, and they presumed to give passports to ships, not only belonging to that colony, but also to England, making the world believe they were a free state." The old New England Confederacy was revived with the added provision of affording mutual protection against "any enemy whatever." The Indian War, although a severe blow, failed to check the great boom, save along the frontier where the blood was shed and homesteads burned.

But, in 1676, Charles again listened to complaints about Boston, particularly from the Mason and Gorges' interests, who complained against the way in which the Colony had once again seized the two future northern States. In March, Charles sent Edward Randolph to Boston with orders to the General Court to send, within six months, agents to London. At first the Court of Assistants attempted to convince Randolph that a letter to the King would serve the purpose but he saw fit to warn the Colony that it would be against their best interests to again flout the King, so William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley were selected and in August, 1677 went before the Lords' Committee of the Council and the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. There, it was determined that the Colony's claim to Maine and New Hampshire was groundless and most of the present area of the two States was once again cut away from Massachusetts. (Massachusetts responded by quietly purchasing from the Gorges' heirs, the proprietorship of Maine, and by reluctantly resigning themselves to the loss of Dover, Portsmouth and Exeter.) Charles, who wished to give Maine to the Duke of Monmouth, offered to buy the future State from Boston, but Boston stoutly refused to give up its rights, thus boldly risking the displeasure of the Crown at a time when it was most impolitic.

The boundary dispute settled, the hearing proceeded with the graver charges ferreted out by Randolph, the absence of laws against treason, the evasion of the navigation acts, the disuse of the oath of allegiance and the like. Randolph was well established in Boston as collector of customs but he busied himself in collecting information against the Colony and reporting to London. Stoughton and Bulkley found themselves unequal to pacify the growing anger of Charles and sent home such reports that the General Court hastened to palliate the Crown

by making treason a crime in the Colony (for the first time), by administering the oath of allegiance to all males above sixteen, by replacing the royal arms in all public buildings, by allowing the celebration of the ritual of the Church of England and by ordering that the Navigation Laws be enforced.

But still, Randolph unearthed "fresh iniquities." The Court of Assistants had but eight or ten members, it should have had eighteen; only church members could become freemen. "Pine tree shillings and six-pences, stamped with the tree of the Colony instead of the Crown" were displayed as further evidence of Puritan independence. In short, every ship that sailed to London carried news of disobedience. If, even at this late hour, the folks of Boston had been more ready to compromise, the charter might still have been allowed to continue, but, despite the dangers, the clergy, in particular, actually encouraged the unsteady opinions of the General Court to new disloyalties. Randolph was resisted in the discharge of his duty, he was hindered in every possible way, insulted at every occasion and changed from a mere honest officer of the Crown into a bitter enemy of the Colony. In August, 1679, Stoughton and Bulkley were allowed to return home upon promising they would sail for London within the year or have others sent in their place but the General Court refused to permit either. When in November, 1676, in August, 1679, and in 1682, Boston was swept by great fires, the disasters, far from discouraging the spirit of the people, increased their resentment against the Crown and the events were used as signs of Divine displeasure in the Colony's partial submission to the King.

The year 1681 saw the close of the long twenty years of struggle with Charles. Angry because of the Colony's failure to send back their agents, Charles consulted his Council about the wisdom of cancelling the charter without the formality of a quo warranto. Persuaded not to be so tyrannical, he caused, in October, the Lords' Committee of Plantations to address the Colony, recapitulating the King's long list of forbearances and the Colony's longer list of alleged crimes, and closing with a command to send "agents empowered to submit to the regulations of government." Forced to submit, Massachusetts sent Joseph Dudley and Mr. Richards in May, 1682, to represent the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay before the Crown. They were instructed to defend the Colony but forbidden to consent to any act which "should violate the liberties of the Colony or infringe the provisions of the Charter." Randolph followed them to make certain that the agents would conceal nothing in the scrutiny which the Colony was at last to face.

In London, when it was found that the agents did not have authority to make a full submission to the King, the Court informed them that if they did not at once obtain the authority, the Crown would issue the dreaded *quo warranto*. Accordingly, the agents wrote home, saying that unless they were given the needed authority, they could not answer for the consequences but, on the other hand, they stated, if the General Court wished to stand upon its "rights, they would not stand alone." Finally the General Court chose the road of moderation, and issued an address to the Crown which the agents were to present. This address made some concessions but still refused to the Crown any radical surrender. Not to bribe the Stuart, but to purchase his favor, upon the advice of Cranfield, royal Governor of New Hampshire, who offered his good offices (honorably, Hubbard says—infamously, Hutchinson says) the agents were ordered to "tender, for his Majesty's private service," two thousand guineas.

Charles made a jest of the offer and the *quo warranto* was issued and dispatched to Boston in a frigate. However, with it went the royal promise "that if the Colony, before prosecution, would make full submission and entire resignation to the king, he would regulate their charter for his service and their good, and with no further alterations than should be necessary for the support of his government." In Boston two parties arose: The majority seemed to be ready to listen to reason and were willing to submit to the King's pleasure. Not so the deputies. They, supported by the clergy, remained stiff-necked and ordered legal proceedings to be instituted to fight for their rights. The battle waged through two terms of Trinity but on June 11, 1684, judgment was entered for the King.

Thus ended the long and strenuous battle which the folk of Boston waged for the life of the Puritan Commonwealth. Massachusetts had been reduced from practical independence to palpable dependence upon the Crown. In February, 1685 Charles died. In fact, the news of his death and of the proclamation of James II was received in Boston before formal notice of the annulment of the charter was. This event caused a delay in the determination of the new government of Boston and the ordinary folks took advantage of it to express at once their spirit of liberty and their distrust of their former leaders by electing to the General Court many new men, men who, of humble or inconspicuous station, were distinguished only by their open resistance to the Crown, men who replaced in many instances, representatives and members of the families who had governed Boston from the very beginning.

JAMES II

James did not follow immediately in the steps of Charles, who had planned to send over as governor Col. Kirke, who had not yet covered himself with blood and infamy by his work in exacting retribution for the Monmouth rebellion. Instead, James gave the temporary direction of the affairs of helpless Massachusetts into the hands of one of its own sons, Joseph Dudley, who was a friend of Randolph and had been an agent of the Colony in London. With Dudley, as a council, were appointed many men also prominent in the Colony's charter government, men who bore the venerable names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Pyncheon, Saltonstall and Stoughton. More, the coveted colonies of Maine and New Hampshire were included in the Commission's rule. Thus the "persons only, and not the government" were changed. Courts and municipal business went on as before. Not a constable was removed or a justice of the peace changed. "Former laws and established customs" remained the rules of justice and Puritan churches were unmolested. Even in the matter of taxes, there was no complaint. True, there was no legislature—but there was nothing for a legislature to do.

The Colony did not receive Dudley with delight, as might well have been the case. The General Court, to whom Dudley presented his Commission, was very resentful of him, feeling that he had made peace with the enemies of Puritanism to obtain his office. The Court found the Commission both arbitrary and unconstitutional but bowed its head in submission as "true and loyal subjects." Meanwhile, the Court carefully secreted all papers relating to the charter and the titles of Indian lands and, upon adjournment, at once began to work for the overthrow of the Commission, thus refusing the well meant move of James—who had thus hoped to improve relations between the Crown and "the troublesome Colony in those parts known as New England."

How well Dudley might have maintained his place against this concerted attack cannot be estimated, because, rumors reaching James that his Commissioners were disloyal, he determined to drop the "native son" plan and sent in place of Dudley, Sir Edmund Andros. Glittering in gold lace and coated in scarlet, the gentleman arrived in December 1686, just seven months behind Dudley. Puritanism was indeed at an end as far as government went. Andros was an intelligent man and well-meaning. He commenced his administration with fair promises and won immediate popularity among the humbler classes but, unfortunately, he had a very high temper and his good will soon crumbled beneath the perpetual opposition which the upper class threw

before him at every step he made. Connecticut opposed him strenuously from the very first and a tax which he laid upon wines and liquors, was, naturally, most unpopular and difficult of enforcement. Again, Andros sought to straighten out the lax system in regard to marriage, which was a civil matter and not strictly controlled. Andros sought to correct the situation by requiring that both parties enter into bonds to be forfeited in case the union should later prove to have had impediment. This wholesome regulation was regarded as a grievous interference with private rights.

Andros also fell heir to vast troubles in the problem of land titles. With the annulment of the Charter, all titles became clouded. James had ordered Andros to grant the inhabitants "their several properties, according to their ancient records," demanding only a nominal quitrent. This threw the proverbial fat into the fire. First the colonists pleaded purchase from the Indians. Andros denied the signatures of sachems as "mere scratches of a bear's paw." Then the colony pleaded the force of their records; "Not worth a rush," replied Andros. Possession was next pleaded; Andros replied that the colonists could not plead their right against the King. Finally the slaughter of the Indians was reached as a claim which Andros would allow and quitrents were finally fixed and paid, although in some cases it is alleged Andros fixed the rates disproportionately to the value of the property, considering chiefly the character of the owner's activity against the King.

Taxes however were the greatest difficulty. Andros was paid by the Crown, not by the Colony. The various towns and cities were relieved of the burden of supporting their representatives to the General Court. Thus, the first year, taxes were probably lower than under the Charter. But in 1688, the burden of an Indian War fell upon the Colony. Andros, under his instructions from the Crown, taxed the cost directly upon the inhabitants. Thus, to a people already drained by King Philip's War, the new burden was heavy and bitterly resented.

An ecclesiastical dispute also increased Andros' unpopularity. He formed an Established Church in Boston but the indignant colonists threatened to boycott all tradesmen or mechanics who dared to attend the services. In return, Andros threatened to compel conformity to the Church of England from Casco Bay to Long Island Sound.

Thus Andros came to be hated by Boston and accused of all sorts of crimes. The fact seems to be, aside from his hasty temper, that he was a fair, just man, who tried to do his best. The fault, if any, seems to lie with his Council who, forty in number, were formed to advise him, and to inform him of the needs and feelings of the Colony,

emotions to which, as a stranger, a professional soldier and a member of the Church of England, he could not well be expected to be either familiar or sympathetic. If the Council had been men of stout metal, all might have been well but, the majority of them retired to the country, and left Andros with but a few who, happening to live in Boston and thus being members of comparatively wealthy families, could not give Andros the wide information he so badly needed.

In military matters, Andros proved himself a capable and successful leader. He vigorously campaigned against the Indians and won the open respect and affection of his men by marching with them and sharing hardship and danger as their actual leader. But this could not save his administration or name from the general hatred of the Colony; probably no Governor could have had other than a similar fate.

In April, 1689, reports began to come to Boston that William, Prince of Orange, had landed in England and was engaged in ousting James from the throne. This news aroused the hopes of the elders and the people and no sooner had the rumors gained some substance and credibility than there followed a general revolt against Andros. One rumor had it that Captain George of the frigate *Rose*, was to fire upon Boston, that Andros was to put the torch to the town and then, they were to sail away to France together. This caused an enraged townspeople to demand the arrest of the pair and they were seized and thrust into jail. The roads swarmed with country folk coming to Boston to display their zeal for liberty. It was not a revolution, but a very good training school for one.

Headed by the feeble Bradstreet, as a mere straw puppet to draw the respect of the Colony, a Committee of Safety formed and took the reins of government in its hands. The revolt against Andros was announced as a "duty to God and the country."

Of course, definite news of the success of William and Mary had not reached Boston and thus the Committee of Safety was forced to walk cautiously. Quarrels arose over the advisability of resumption of the old Charter or allowing the Committee of Safety to continue in power until definite news was obtained. In May the news of the proclaiming of William and Mary finally came and the old charter was once again declared to be in force.

William received the news quietly, ordered the charter government to continue for the time and had Andros sent home for trial. At the hearing, Andros turned upon his accusers from Boston and silenced them. William closed the hearing and soon after appointed Andros to govern Virginia, where the bewildered soldier found people of his own kind and enjoyed a happier tenure of office.

CHAPTER XVI

Governors of the Province

The coming of William and Mary to the throne in 1689 began, for Massachusetts, a period of more than seventy years during which the Province was distinguished by two things—a perennial feud with the long line of provincial governors and a constant growth towards independence.

For the first few years of his reign, William was too busy with domestic affairs to bother with distant Massachusetts and the aged Bradstreet, and the Court of Assistants and the General Court continued in office under the original charter. As this was known to be a temporary arrangement, the Colony did little more than mark time, hoping for the best. It was clear that the old days were definitely ended; but, undoubtedly, the leading families of the Bay Colony expected that no great changes would be ordered, while the common folk anxiously awaited the new charter anticipating that their lot would be considerably improved.

In 1692, the new charter was written and sent to Boston. In many ways a compromise between the hopes of the old freemen and those who had been kept outside the pale, it satisfied neither, but for both it was fair and liberal. Two of the most important changes were concerned with the executive branch of the government and with the extension of the franchise—the King reserved the appointment of the governor, the lieutenant governor and the secretary—the franchise was given to every inhabitant who had a personal estate of at least forty pounds and to every real estate owner whose annual income was more than forty shillings. In respect to legislation, the Crown held a veto power over all laws, the veto to be exercised in each instance within three years. The new charter changed the name of the Colony to “The Province of Massachusetts Bay” and extended the limits of the original Colony to include Plymouth, Maine and Nova Scotia, then known also as Acadia.

That William was determined not to be harsh or to penalize the Province for its sins against the Crown as a colony, is shown by the

fact that he gave ear to Massachusetts' agents in London and appointed their friend, Sir William Phips, governor, and William Stoughton, lieutenant governor.

Upon his arrival in Boston, Sir William was greeted with enthusiasm. For the next few months, he was not conspicuous in his office because of the witchcraft frenzy which gripped the Province and occupied its attention to the exclusion of everything else. But, when the hysteria had died away, the Province soon became aware that Phips was not proving to be as amenable as they had hoped. Undoubtedly no man, no matter what his powers of tact or personality, could have remained popular with a stiff-necked folk who, for sixty years, had been accustomed to elect their own governor, make their own laws and run their affairs to suit themselves and not the distant Crown.

Open dissatisfaction broke out in 1694 over heavy taxes which Phips imposed to pay for a fort which he had built at Pemaquid to prevent the Maine Indians from attacking the northern settlements at the instigation of the French. This fort was necessary and it greatly aided the peace of the frontier, but the old families of Boston seized upon the tax burden as a means of forcing a quarrel upon Phips. A man of hasty temper, he was easily aroused and led from trouble to trouble—even to the point of having an altercation with the collector of customs and to the personal chastisement of the captain of a British man-of-war. These, and other outbreaks, were certainly unbecoming to his office, and his impeachment and summons to England for trial were easily procured. A talk with the King was sufficient to clear the man of all difficulty and he was about to return to Boston when he was seized with an illness, of which he died in February, 1695.

During Phips' absence, Stoughton, as lieutenant governor, took office and remained in power until 1698 when Phips' successor, the Earl of Bellomont, arrived.

Bellomont, who was also governor of New York and New Hampshire, did not take over his duties in Boston personally until 1699 and then he governed but a brief time, dying in New York in 1701. He was popular in Boston. Perhaps growing accustomed to the change, Boston was well disposed to the Earl from the beginning and this attitude was strengthened by the affability he displayed. Conciliatory in his rule, he sought the friendship of the clergy, deferred to them in matters of religion and was most decorous and punctilious in attendance at church.

Upon his death, the ambitious and unpopular Joseph Dudley, who happened to be in London at the time, applied to the Crown for the

office and was given it. He arrived in Boston in June, 1702, and was greeted with a quarrel over his salary. According to the charter, the Governor was paid with an annual grant raised and fixed in amount by the General Court. Dudley in accordance with his instructions, demanded that this salary be fixed at a permanent figure. To have done this, would have made the crown-appointed officers completely independent of the legislature. Aroused, the sturdy party of independence, the men who had jailed Andros, rallied, and fought Dudley so stoutly that the legislature refused Dudley's demand.

The next few years were bitter ones of war with the French and Indians, but still Massachusetts found plenty of time to fight Dudley every moment of the day. He was cordially hated by many and disliked by everyone. Thus, in no respect of importance, could he persuade or force the Legislature to concede him any point which the assembly believed to be an infringement upon their freedom and power as an elective and representative body. Finally, in 1715, a controversy arose which enabled the Province to oust the unfortunate man. The debts which piled up in the course of fighting the French and Indians were so heavy that the Province's paper currency began to depreciate. To bolster this failing credit, the Legislature moved to establish a public or private banking system. Dudley would have nothing to do with the idea. Thus, to the popular hatred, was added the fears of men of wealth that their possessions were threatened by Dudley's obstinacy. Accordingly, a determined and vociferous clamor was raised in London for Dudley's recall. Shortly, the Crown responded by recalling Dudley.

Dudley was expecting the change, for with the ascension of George I, he lost most of his influence in London. And it is probable that he was also not unhappy to lay down his burden, for he was nearly seventy and not a robust man. He died April 2, 1720, and his family were gratified to find that dead he had more friends than he ever had living. His obituary in the *Boston News Letter* reads in part: "He was a man of rare endowments and shining accomplishments; a singular honor to his country, and in many respects the glory of it. He was early its darling, always its ornament, and in his age its crown. The scholar, the divine, the philosopher and the lawyer all met in him. He was visibly formed for government; and under his administration, by the blessing of Almighty God, we enjoyed great quietness, and were safely steered through a long and difficult French and Indian war."

Of course, this journalism was tempered by the eternal *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; but, even so, the man could not have been as black as his detractors and opponents painted him. His faults appear to

have been mostly those of ambition, though he was certainly more of a lover of the King than he was a champion of liberty.

George bestowed the government of New England upon a Colonel Burgess, but, being described to Boston as of a "loose character" and more particularly as a friend of the private bankers, great opposition to him arose among the people. Jonathan Belcher of Boston, who was fighting for a public bank, and Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of the

Province in London, put their heads together, raised one thousand pounds, and offered it to Burgess, on condition that he would resign in favor of Colonel Samuel Shute, who was generally respected and widely known in the Province through his fighting in the French and Indian War. Burgess agreed and Shute arrived in Boston as Dudley's successor in October, 1716. He was of an "open, generous and humane disposition" and by some, regarded as not being particularly bright and as a "lover of ease."

Accordingly, upon his arrival, the proponents of private banking attempted to rush through



THE SEAL OF GOVERNOR SIMON BRADSTREET
AFFIXED TO HIS WILL IN BOSTON,
MASSACHUSETTS

their scheme but, mindful of Belcher's good offices in obtaining his commission, and probably not being as "imbecilic" as had been hoped, he came out firmly for a public bank and authorized a large issue of paper money to relieve the shortage of currency. However, as this printing-press method of financing was then inevitably resorted to from time to time in answer to continued public clamor, the Province's notes speedily depreciated and the financial problem continued to vex the General Court as before.

Naturally, the private bank people grew bitter and endeavored to

stir up difficulties. Always ready to quarrel with a royal appointee, the folks of the Province joined in heartily and the difficulty grew important as Shute attempted to muzzle the press, and ripened in 1720 when he refused to accept Elisha Cooke, a popular man, as speaker of the House. The House refused to elect a new speaker and Shute dissolved it. The House met again in July but, after a two week session, Shute again sent the members home, when the assembly began to pass orders which he found repugnant, particularly the resolve which



GOVERNOR SIMON AND ANNE (DUDLEY) BRADSTREET HOUSE
AT NORTH ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

Courtesy of owner, Attorney Hollis R. Bailey. Built 1667; view taken 1925

cut the Governor's salary from six hundred to five hundred pounds. In May, 1721, at the next session of the House, a new speaker, John Clarke, was chosen and the House notified Shute to that effect in a manner, to Shute's mind, very insolent. Shute was about to dissolve the House again but, mindful that if he did so, his Council could not be chosen, he agreed to proceed with the Province's business, first ordering the sitting removed to Cambridge, because of the epidemic of small-pox raging in Boston.

The quarrel thus well begun continued at fever heat and culminated when the House refused to vote the Governor any salary at all unless he agreed to offer no opposition to the bills they had under considera-

tion. Worn out, Shute secretly sailed for England early in 1722, leaving the duties of his office to William Dummer, the lieutenant governor. Dummer held office for the following six years. By prudently bowing to the determination of the General Court, he carried on the business of the Province successfully without any particular disturbance.

In 1727, Colonel Shute determined to return to Massachusetts and take up his office again. Aware of the reception which would greet him, he delayed sailing until a man-of-war could be found to escort him. But, while he waited, George II came to the throne and Shute found himself regarded with less favor. A pension of six hundred pounds was offered to him; he accepted with pleasure, and King George appointed William Burnet, former governor of New York, to the Massachusetts government.

Burnet arrived in Boston in July 1728 and was received with great enthusiasm. Mather Byles, leading poet of the day, wrote a long poem of welcome, of which the following is an example:

“Welcome, great man, to our desiring eyes:
Thou earth! proclaim it; and resound ye skies!
Voice answering voice, in joyful consort meet,
The hills all echo, and the rocks repeat. . . .
Let thy warm transports blaze in numerous fires,
And beaming glories glitter on thy spires;
Let rockets streaming up the ether glare,
And flaming serpents hiss along the air.”

But this enthusiasm was short lived, for in his very first address to the Legislature he clearly stated that it was His Majesty's instructions to continue precisely along the path followed by Shute. The General Court was not intimidated in the least, and they locked horns with Burnet as joyously as they had with his predecessors. Being perhaps more sensitive than the others, Burnet became embittered and, falling ill, died suddenly in September, 1729. Mr. Dummer again took charge, his first duty being to give the latest sacrifice to the Province's determination, a handsome funeral at the public expense.

In England, the Crown was at a loss to find another Governor. Not but that there were many applicants, but the calibre of the aspirants who were willing to beard the Massachusetts lion was distinctly inferior. In this dilemma, Jonathan Belcher of Boston, the same who had helped Shute to become Governor, now felt the sting of ambition himself, and calling upon Shute in his retirement, prevailed upon the Colonel to obtain the governorship for Jonathan. Belcher was agent for the

Province in London, he was known to be popular in Boston, and hence the Crown, hoping to satisfy the province, gave Belcher the position.

If George hoped to flatter Boston, he was sadly mistaken, for the General Court, guardian of the people's liberties, received Belcher as a stranger and, when they learned that he too was determined to be loyal to George, they fought him as energetically as ever. In particular, Belcher had been authorized to compromise the long pending salary dispute and accept a smaller salary if the Court would make it a permanent figure. The Court willingly enough granted him a thousand pounds as a gratuity for his services as agent in England, and gave him another thousand pounds for his first year's salary. But they steadfastly refused to make the thousand pounds an annual fixed grant. This refusal the Crown found obnoxious and, when Belcher proved himself unable to bring the dispute to a conclusion, George ended the long quarrel by giving the Governor of the province his salary directly from the royal exchequer. Thus, finally, was the representative of the Crown relieved from dependence upon the General Court.

In 1739, war breaking out between England and Spain, Massachusetts was called upon to furnish a quota of troops. Belcher moved to meet the requisition but found himself side-tracked in a bitter broil over the re-issue of paper money. He not only opposed extending the time for redemption of old paper, or the creation of similar currency, but denounced the proposed scheme for a joint stock bank. In this he met disaster. The folks back of the proposed bank had powerful connections in England, and thus brought about Belcher's dismissal. Returning to England, he was able to vindicate himself so thoroughly that he was given the governorship of New Jersey, where he passed the rest of his life in peace. He died August, 1757.

To Boston, George sent William Shirley, an English lawyer who, living in the Province, was well liked here. A sagacious man, endowed with the good fortune of thoroughly understanding Massachusetts and the people over whom he had been appointed, he was able for some time to run things smoothly. In this he was aided doubtless by the new war between France and England. His support of the subsequent project to capture Louisburg, a business which was voted by the General Court by a majority of one, and its ultimate astonishing success, greatly enhanced his popularity. Another thing which aided Shirley in running things quietly was the fervent religious movement, known as "the Great Awakening" which so stirred things up that ambitious and earnest men found plenty to do in religious matters and correspondingly less time to quarrel with the Governor.

But, when in 1748, with the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Massachusetts

found the profits of her toil and danger shorn away, and was left to lick her wounds and pay her heavy taxes, folks turned once again to the old business of fighting with the Crown and then they discovered that Shirley all along had been a royalist, working for the curtailment of provincial liberty. And, when at the same time, it was learned that he had been hatching with Clinton, the Governor of New York, a plan to free the royal governors from all control of the people by means of parliamentary measures, the people of Massachusetts became incensed. No oil was thrown on the troubled waters either, by Shirley's sailing for England, (September 1749), to lay before Parliament his opinions on colonial matters. For four years, Shirley was thus absent. During this time, things on the whole went smoothly; the only move against the liberty of the Province coming in 1752 when the English colonial ministry sought to make a revision of the laws of the Province. Possibly there was reason for this revision, but the General Court, being naturally suspicious of some secret encroachment upon their liberties, declined to allow the revision on the ground that, as the folks of Massachusetts were satisfied with the existing body of law, it was unnecessary to make any changes.

Shirley returned in 1753 and fell into a difficult situation. To recompense Massachusetts for its expenses in the late war, the English Ministry finally allowed the Province some eight hundred thousand dollars in gold. The money arrived at about the time of Shirley's return and a controversy arose as to the use of the money. He supported the party which wanted to use it for the redemption of depreciated paper currency then in circulation, at a small discount. There was much opposition to this plan, but, through Shirley's influence, the species was used for the redemption and, although the return to sound money eventually was greeted with satisfaction by everyone, he did not increase his popularity to any extent.

Knowing a fresh outbreak of war with the French and Indians was imminent, Shirley lost no time in organizing provincial levies and putting the frontier in a proper condition for defense. In 1755, Braddock, sent over from England, called a conference of Colonial Governors, and plans were made to attack the French. Massachusetts was selected to take a prominent part in the war, seven thousand men being ordered to the colors. This general militarization of the Province caused considerable opposition in the Province, feeling which was intensified by the spectacle of Massachusetts men being compelled to aid in the eviction and deportation of the Acadians. And, when it became known that Parliament had passed laws for the quartering of troops in private houses and degrading the provincial officers, to a

status below that of those under commission from the Crown, Massachusetts, and all the colonies as well, for that matter, became profoundly indignant, and the affection of the Colonies for England was seriously weakened.

It was at this time, June, 1756, that Shirley was mortified by being recalled to London, losing both his position as second-in-command, of the English forces in America and his governorship of Massachusetts.

Thomas Pownall, Shirley's successor, arrived in Boston, August, 1757. In the meanwhile, the war was not progressing favorably to the English and Pownall immediately issued orders, in excess of his authority, for the militia to arm and be ready at a moment's notice to march to the relief of the forts in northern New York. He even appointed Sir William Pepperell to the command of the Province's forces. As the news of Montcalm's advance came through, Pownall ordered several regiments to reinforce Fort Edward in New York and desired the citizens of the Province west of the Connecticut to destroy their cattle. These arbitrary measures would soon have caused him great difficulty had not an occasion arisen which made him a popular idol.

Boston had provided barracks on Castle Island for such British troops as happened to be in town. The officers of a Nova Scotia regiment, finding the distance from the Island to the bright lights of the town inconveniently long, ordered the city's magistrates to billet them in the town, under the British Mutiny Act. The magistrates refused. Loudon, British commander in New York, was notified and ordered Boston to billet the officers as they requested; if not, he threatened, he would send eight regiments to Boston to enforce the law. Pownall at once took the side of the Province and managed to avoid the threatened clash. This espousal of the side of the Province, made him very popular and, until 1760, he managed affairs with smoothness, aided doubtless by the pressing importance of the great war which, at last, England was definitely winning.

In 1760, Francis Bernard was appointed governor of Massachusetts, coming from New Jersey to succeed Pownall. He at once ran head on against the constantly growing spirit of independence animating the Province. In September, addressing the General Court upon the capture of Montreal, he found occasion to remind the Province of "the blessings they derived from their SUBJECTION to Great Britain." The Council coldly acknowledged a "beneficial relation" to England, while the General Court retorted "The whole world must be sensible of the blessings derived to Great Britain from the loyalty of the colonies in general, and for the efforts of this province in particular, which, for



JOHN WINTHROP, SECOND GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

a century past, has been wading in blood, and laden with the expense of repelling the common enemy, without which efforts Great Britain, at this day, might have no colonies to defend."

With this mutter of storm, clouds soon gathered over the legalizing of writs of assistance which gave the bearer (customs officers, in this case) the right to search when and where he pleased for contraband goods. Stephen Sewall, chief justice, had always refused to issue these writs but, in September 1760, Sewall died.

As his successor would have great responsibility in the matter of these writs, for which the Collector of the Port was constantly pressing, Bernard found himself in hot water. James Otis of Barnstable, a popular man, had been proposed for the place but Bernard, seeking to bring about the enforcement of the British Acts of Trade, and knowing that Otis would follow Sewall, appointed instead Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson.

In February, 1761, Hutchinson and his four associates, assembled to hear the question. The elder Otis appeared against the Crown, and then his son, who, having resigned his office as advocate for the Admiralty, so as to be free to oppose the Crown, arose and attacked the Acts of Trade as oppressive, and denounced the writs in particular as illegal and destructive to liberty. He spoke with a fiery and impassioned eloquence, and his words aroused great emotion in the court and on the street. In fact, from his mouth, came the words which actually opened the War for Independence.

However, the writs were granted, and, although seldom used, they were so odious that they helped caused the Colonial Party to organize. Father and son, the Otis men headed the party. Bernard aroused the fire of this party in September, 1762, when he announced that, in advance of legislative sanction, he had expended some few hundred pounds to employ an armed sloop to guard fishing vessels from pirates. This act the General Court regarded as unconstitutional and the younger Otis remonstrated with fire and passion. He was accused of treason and at length modified his language and Bernard managed to have Otis' remarks erased altogether.

In 1763 two events happened. George III caused Pitt, friend of the Colonies to resign, and the treaty of Fontainebleau ended the French and Indian War. Thus Great Britain was free to turn its attention to its colonies and to impose various measures for control which had been maturing for years but which events, and Pitt's ministry, had caused to remain quiescent. The stage was set for the struggle for Independence.

CHAPTER XVII

The Witchcraft Panic

If Boston is celebrated throughout the world as the home of the baked bean, Salem enjoys a less agreeable distinction. Mention Salem to almost anyone and he is likely to remark, "Oh, yes, Salem! That's where the Puritans burned the witches."

Neither reputation could be less deserved. Beverly originated the baked bean, not Boston; and Salem never burned a human, witch or not. However, the witchcraft panic did come to a climax in Salem in 1692 and of several hundred persons imprisoned, nineteen were hanged and one was pressed to death. Thus Salem is properly enough known as the Witch City and, today, the figure of a witch astride a broomstick is used as an advertising symbol of the town. But the Puritans of Salem are far from deserving the opprobrium which is considered fitting and proper to heap upon their heads now, nearly 250 years after the hysteria has passed.

As Prof. George Lyman Kittredge points out, Salem in fact behaved with far greater restraint, considering the panic which gripped the world, than many other localities, particularly England, Scotland and France, where witches were burned after being first tortured by methods borrowed directly from the Spanish Inquisition. Salem at least maintained a semblance of trial by jury with a fair legal procedure, according to the standards of the day. There were no "witch hunters" in America, such as the infamous Matthew Hopkins, English "witch-finder-general"; and ministers, judges and officers, with but a very few possible exceptions, did their duty honestly as they saw it. If any human weakness may be excused, the mistaken folk of Salem—and all the rest of the world—may be pardoned on the ground that their peculiar pathological panic was the direct result of inherited intellectual, spiritual and theological opinions, three things for which no one can be held responsible, even today.

To us, secure in the twentieth century, when belief in the devil and the powers of darkness is a theme for jesting (save at midnight when the winds howl and wood-work about our houses crackles inexplicably), it is very difficult to understand how a community and

a nation could work itself into such a panic as to hang mothers and fathers, friends and neighbors. We have achieved tolerance in religious matters (although most tolerance is mere indifference); but in those days, tolerance itself was a sin and, if one lived in Salem, or London, or Edinburgh, to express tolerance was to talk oneself upon the gallows or into a heap of well-dried kindling.

The situation as it developed in Salem cannot be understood without at least a brief consideration of the development of the witchcraft hysteria. For generations uncountable, men believed in the power of the Devil to pervert men and women to his dark ends. Witness the classical "Faust" legends, common to many nations. In fact, although usually closely identified in the Middle Ages with persecutions for heresy, the witchcraft belief lay much deeper in the subconscious basis of all religions. The Protestant Church, after its establishment, found itself with a belief in the Devil and his aides as strong as the elder church had when (at the instigation of the English politicians, it must be remembered) the French Catholics burned Joan of Arc as a witch.

Fundamentally, the Bible itself was responsible for the terror. Exodus XXII, 18; reads: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Again, Deuteronomy XVIII 10, 11 and 12: "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord; and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."

But, at least in so far as English history is concerned, few witches were executed as such until the 16th century. In 1541, the Crown brought about an enactment against the practice of witchcraft, "to preserve the peace of the realm," but nothing serious was undertaken until the reign of Elizabeth, when more stringent measures were taken and, possibly, some hundred persons subjected to fire and water—the second to prove their infernal allegiance and the first to punish them.

With James the First, who was a Scotchman and who thus brought to England the Gaelic enthusiasm for persecuting witches, the situation became active. In 1597, his great book, *Demonology*—great because of the position of its author and not because of its merit—furnished his dominions with a text-book for their advancement. In 1603, when he came to the English throne and united Scotland and England, systematic persecution began.

It is idle to dwell upon the barbarities which resulted, cruelties

which are best forgotten. Of significance, however, for Massachusetts, was the witch trial held in 1664 before Sir Matthew Hale, sitting as Chief of the Exchequer. Two witches were brought before the Court: one Rose Cullender and one Amy Dunny. Sir Matthew was recognized as a man of sterling character. Moreover, he was a great lawyer. Thus, his charge was rightfully regarded as one which set a precedent for witchcraft cases thereafter.

Listen to the charge to the jury, the charge from a great lawyer and an upright man, the charge which sent two women to a horrible death: "That there were such Creatures as Witches, he made no doubt at all; For First, the Scriptures had affirmed so much. . . . And such hath been the judgment of this Kingdom, as appears by that Act of Parliament which hath provided Punishments suitable to the quality of the offense . . . (Desiring the Jury) strictly to observe Their Evidence; and desired the Great God of Heaven to direct their hearts . . . : For to Condemn the Innocent, and to let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord."

By the time the 17th century drew to its close, the terror of witchcraft was about done in Europe; the blood of thousands of innocent victims had at length quenched the fire of fear but, in New England, far away over three thousand miles of Atlantic, the intellectual revolution had little influence.

Church and State and Massachusetts were armed with three things: absolute belief in the Bible, King James' book *Demonology* and behavior, and the legal precedent of Sir Matthew Hale's trial.

Thus the stage was set for the climax in Salem. But it must not be thought that Salem was alone in the cruel business. Witchcraft was, from the very first settlement, a capital offense, for being Englishmen, the settlers naturally believed that any conversation with the Devil was *prima facie* evidence of intent to murder and to commit the entire catalogue of crime. In the 1640's, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island all specifically adopted the Biblical ordinance: "If any man or woman be a witch . . . they shall be put to death."

The outbreak of persecution did not long wait upon this formal sanction. John Metcalf Taylor in *The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut* states that Alse Young was hanged as a witch in Hartford May 26, 1647.¹ Samuel Gardner Drake in *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* . . . declares that Margaret Jones of Charlestown, was executed June 15, 1648.

These two executions fired the smouldering powder train of fear. Witch persecution became fashionable and, like other evil phantasies,

1. Eight others executed in Conn. before 1662.



ARRESTING A WITCH
From an engraving

fed upon its own fuel and blazed mightily. To begin with of course, many persons, probably most persons, accused were not convicted, or, at least executed, although it is certain that, since the records are very poor and incomplete, some must have been hanged.

Cases occurred throughout New England from Maine down through Connecticut and, from the very first, suspicion was no respecter of position. Witness the case of Mrs. Anne Hibbins, said to be a handsome woman, and recorded as being a woman of "high char-

acter and exemplary conduct." Nevertheless, she was convicted and hanged. Her husband, William Hibbins, had been the Bay Colony's representative in England, too.

But all the time the fire was burning ever more fiercely. Finally, in 1688, occurred a case in Boston, which interested the great Cotton Mather. The case bears heavily in many points upon the Salem outbreak, soon to come. Mr. and Mrs. John Glover, of the North End, were brought to the attention of the authorities by Mather who declared that their oldest daughter, a child of thirteen, was suffering fits "of diabolical origin." The authorities investigated; they had to do so when Cotton Mather requested them to, for he was the leading cleric of the day.

Possibly to the dismay of the officers and possibly to the delight of Mather, the girl's three younger brothers and sisters joined in the exhibition of fits. Accordingly Mrs. Glover was arrested, tried upon the evidence of her own children and executed.

The points of interest here are first: that Mather was interested, and second, that the evidence of children was accepted by a court of justice empowered to inflict capital punishment.

With this execution, Boston lost the lime-light to Salem—although it should be pointed out that throughout Salem's panic Boston magistrates and clergy practically influenced the smaller town's reactions.

Salem burst into flames through the coming of a minister, the

Reverend Samuel Parris in 1689 to the village of Salem Farms, now the town of Danvers. This village was then, for all its present placid slumbers, a hotbed of strife and commotion. It could not seem to find a minister to weld its warring factions into a single municipal unit and the whole community was fighting itself most enthusiastically. In having Parris as its minister, the village was most unfortunate; he was soon squabbling as earnestly as his congregation, taking sides in difficulties over land titles and family quarrels—when he was not too busy fighting over his own salary, parsonage and other rights.

Into this pathological community, Parris brought two slaves, said to be negroes, although they may have been West Indian natives more or less negroid. They were John and his wife, Tituba. Tituba proved to be the match which exploded the powder-keg.

Young girls in the neighborhood became interested in Tituba. Possibly she was versed in some form of the present Haitian voodoo. Anyway, she began teaching various "magical" practices to the girls—who were apt pupils.

Notable among these girls was Anne Putnam, aged twelve. Suddenly, she began to have "Fits." The local doctor, summoned, scratched his head and, being unwilling to admit his ignorance, asserted that Tituba was a witch and had bewitched the child. Shortly, possibly jealous of the prominence Anne was enjoying, or probably, influenced by the obscure psychology common to such cases, others of the girls taught by Tituba began to have fits, as well.

Immediately, the village, the town and the colony, became concerned.

On February 28, 1692, Tituba was arrested and Salem's year of black panic was underway. The atmosphere became supercharged with fear, everyone regarded everyone else with suspicion. Men became afraid to walk alone at night and unexplained fires



EXECUTION OF MRS. HIBBINS
(Witchcraft). From an engraving

in the wilderness about were thought to be witch-fires, about which Satan and his local recruits were observing their unholy rites.

Tituba was soon joined in jail by two more unfortunate women, Sara Osburn and Sarah Goode since, Tituba, seeking to escape, incriminated them. They in turn dragged in two aged women to join them, Rebecca Nourse, or Nurse, and Martha Corey. All were executed upon the testimony of the "bewitched girls."

The dramatics of that spring seem unbelievable. The trials were mere farces, what with unbalanced children "carrying on" before the bar of justice and the unfortunate victims seeking by whatever means possible to escape their fate. During a few months, no less than one hundred persons were arrested to stand trial and, as fast as the wheels could grind, the hangman earned his fee. The low hill on the outskirts of the town, selected for the executions, and today known as Gallows Hill, became the Mecca of thousands of folks for miles around, who came to the executions not merely in the conventional spirit of holiday but in the fond hope of witnessing some exemplification of diabolical horror upon which they could feed their fear.

The complete role of executions for the black year of 1692 follows:

June 10: Bridget Bishop.

July 19: Sara Osburn, Elizabeth Howe, Susan Martin, Rebecca Nourse, Sarah Goode.

Aug. 19: George Burroughs, John Willard, John Proctor, Martha Carrier, George Jacobs.

Sept. 19: Giles Corey.

Sept. 22: Martha Corey, Mary or Margaret Scott, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Mary Parker, Ann Pudester, William Redd or Read, Samuel Wardell.

This makes the total number of executions twenty. All were hanged; excepting Giles Corey.

He was a hero. Under the English law, a man who refused to plead guilty or not guilty could be subjected to torture until he chose to plead. This torture had as its justification the common law that, if an accused victim would not confess or could not be brought to plead, his guilt could not be established and thus his property could not be forfeited.

Thus, now and then, when a stout-hearted individual was accused and was summoned before a court from which no hope of a just finding could be anticipated, he could elect to be tortured to death for the sake of his family, since, if he refused to plead and thus

chose to die under torture, they would at least have the enjoyment of his property, which the court could not seize.

When Corey was accused he knew he could not escape. So, defying the Court, he elected to die without pleading and thus save his property. The method of torture which the Salem authorities adopted, was that of "pressing"—which seems to be a very mild form compared with the exquisite refinements practiced in Europe.

Corey was placed on the floor, a form of planks, probably a stout door, laid upon him and then heavy weights were slowly added; the hope being that, as the pressure increased, the man would plead before the life was crushed out of him. Corey did not yield.

Bridget Bishop, the first "witch" to be executed, was the keeper of a tavern; a "forward" woman, "ready with her tongue," as doubtless a woman running a tavern had to be. Through difficulties with the neighbors, she was arrested, tried and hanged. Her death warrant has been preserved and a copy may be seen at the Essex Institute.

Martha Carrier presents a case of particular horror. She was imprisoned with four of her children. One of them, a girl of eight years, broke down, and alleged that her mother had made a witch out of her when she was but six years old. Upon this evidence, Mrs. Carrier was hanged. She gave the lie direct to her judges during her trial, when once she was convinced that she had no chance of escape. Cotton Mather was interested in her case and did much to ruin her.

Mather was also interested in the case of George Burroughs and probably the man would not have been hanged if Mather had not interfered. Burroughs had been a minister of Salem Village, the same Danvers, where Rev. Mr. Parris brought about the panic. In March 1683, Burroughs, unable to withstand the quarrels of his congregation, accepted a call to Wells, Maine. A graduate of Harvard, Class of 1670, he was a man of strong emotions but of equally strong character.

In May 1692, a warrant for his arrest was issued on the testimony of Anne Putnam and Mercy Lewis and he was brought to Salem for trial. He was doomed from the beginning but bore himself with a manly resignation that excited the admiration and sympathy of Salem.

On Aug. 19th, he was brought to Gallows Hill. John Willard, George Jacobs, John Proctor and Martha Carrier were hanged, one after the other. Reserved to the last, out of respect to his cloth, Burroughs remained calm. When the rope was tied about his neck, he stood erect and repeated the Lord's prayer so fervently that the execution stopped. The crowd murmured and it is possible that the

man would have been taken back to jail and eventually released. But Cotton Mather was on the spot to profit by the occasion. He stepped forward, stood in front of Burroughs, and addressed the mob. He declared that Burroughs was merely seeking to escape his fate by pretending to be pious, that the colony must not be deluded by the devil, for "Satan is often transformed into an angel of light." And so, Burroughs died.

With the September hangings, the fires of fear had reached their apex. More than a hundred persons were in the special jail, made out of an empty house, awaiting trial. How many more men and women might have been hanged cannot be conjectured, however, for two events occurred immediately which stopped the executions and permitted the panic to abate.

The first of these was the return to sanity on the part of the Governor, Sir William Phips. He came from England in 1692, arriving in Boston on May 14, when the Salem jail was already filled with accused. Regular courts were not sitting, because of difficulties with the Crown and, although a new charter was granted through Phips early in 1692, it could not become operative until a special "Court" was assembled. The date for this was fixed for the first of October.

To meet the situation in Salem, under emergency conditions, the English precedent was followed and a special court of "Oyer and Terminer," was formed on May 27th for the trial of the alleged witches. Deputy Governor William Stoughton, was named chief justice. Juries were drawn but, under the special procedure of the court, they had nothing to do but listen to the evidence and to bring in a directed verdict.

To modern views, this court was most unfair. The judges not only passed on the evidence which was presented but acted also as prosecuting attorneys, drawing the defendants with leading questions, cross-examining them and acting most contrarily to present standards. Accused were without benefit of counsel and no one dared to appear in their favor, because it would mean their swift arrest upon suspicion of witchcraft. However, it is important to point out that the Court was not only a special tribunal but was composed of honest gentlemen who, irregular as their actions seem today, were amply provided with precedent for their behavior and doubtless believed that it was their duty to exterminate witchcraft. Still, it is interesting to observe that two of the associate justices had no stomach for the business. Nathaniel Saltonstall withdrew after the very first conviction, that of Bridget Bishop, and Judge Samuel



"TRIAL OF GEORGE JACOBS FOR WITCHCRAFT"
From painting by Matteson. Essex Institute Collection

Courtesy of The Essex Institute

Sewall attended only one trial and, after, made manly apology for his participation in the business.

This court sat in Salem apparently four times, each sitting being followed by executions. When the special Assembly finally met in October, one of its first acts was to provide regular courts and thus terminate the emergency witch court.

Stoughton was again appointed chief justice of the new court and in January, the next winter, presided in Salem at the trial of three more witches. They were convicted but were not executed. Only one other witch case came up in the colony thereafter, that of Mary Rule, the following September; a case in which Cotton Mather met his Waterloo—as will be discussed later.

The second event which stopped the panic was the fearful rate at which accusations were spreading. Apparently no one was safe and when once the quality of the Colony realized that they were in danger of their necks along with the common folk, a sudden and abrupt change of opinion immediately ensued.

For example, Lady Phips, wife of the Governor himself, was named. And then, to cap the climax, no less a person than the mother of Cotton Mather was accused. This was obviously preposterous. The absurdity struck deeply home to even the judges concerned—as well it might—and no man thereafter dared to sit on the bench and send a witch, convicted or not, to the gallows. It was too dangerous.

Samuel Sewall, as has been said, publicly admitted his error. In the Old South Meetinghouse on Washington Street at Milk Street, he stood up in his pew and listened to the minister read the Judge's petition for pardon, a paper in which he acknowledged his mistaken judgment, embraced all the blame and shame entailed and asked pardon of God and man.

Rev. John Hale of Beverly, who was one of the most zealous in "smelling out witches," suddenly changed his mind when his wife was accused and arose vigorously to fight the "delusion."

Anne Putnam, the child through whose testimony many of the hangings were brought about, made a public confession of error in the Danvers church. She asked forgiveness on the ground that she acted not through malice, anger or ill-will but because she was "deluded of Satan."

Everyone concerned, however, did not repent. Judge Stoughton, for example, remained firm in his conviction, honest doubtless, that the devil and his witches were real and that the only way in which society could be protected was by summary execution of all suspected and convicted.

Cotton Mather, too, remained obdurate and his stubbornness cost him the one ambition of his life, the presidency of Harvard College. That would have been the crown of his life. He tried to obtain it but another man was chosen.

Probably the case of Mary Rule was the direct cause. All through the panic of 1692, and long before, Cotton Mather was in the van of the attack against witches. This was fitting enough, for he was a man of parts, the leader of the clergy of the Colony, son of a president of Harvard, and a great writer—probably the most distinguished son of a dynasty which gave the Colony inspired leadership for four generations.

There can be no doubt, he was a man of genius, a man of astonishing ability and perseverance. But he was credulous; he believed what he wished to believe. Possibly this quality may make for a happy and busy life, but it is fatal to a career when it is exposed to the limelight in a time when a commonwealth is recovering from an experience of such horror as the witchcraft panic.

Had Mather been a little more stable, and little less determined to vindicate himself by exposing still more witches, he would not have attempted to stem the tide of opinion but would at least have remained inactive, whatever he might have thought.

But, no, when the case of Mary Rule came up, he seized upon it as heaven-sent and thus exposed himself to attacks which ruined all his hopes of heading Harvard.

Mary lived in the North End of Boston. At that time it was a pleasant hillside, covered with gracious trees and grey dwellings marching down to the tide. Nothing is known of the girl, except for the brief time she came into prominence when Mather was called to observe that she had fits of supposed diabolical nature.

The girl struggled against the devil. She fasted; she confined herself to her bed but a "little black man, a rat and divers imps constantly tortured her to sign the Devil's book." The girl is said to have become able to see ghosts, to cause strange noises to resound about her room and once, so it is alleged, was raised bodily to the ceiling and held there by her tormentors.

Increase Mather led in prayer and his son, Cotton, attempted by the "laying on of hands to exorcise the Devil." But in vain. For six weeks the remarkable exhibition endured and then suddenly, so said Mary, a white spirit appeared, whipped the demons away and left her in peace. She recovered. But not Cotton Mather.

Among Mather's less enthusiastic admirers was Robert Calef, a citizen of Boston, who, along with William Brattle, a Boston mer-

chant of wealth, had been attempting to stem the tide against witchcraft. They visited the girl, thought that she was a fraud, and embraced the opportunity to discredit Cotton, whom they considered a "witch-finder."

Accordingly, Calef sat down and wrote an account of what he had observed of the case. This differed very considerably from Cotton's inspired versions and it even went so far as to charge, by inference of course, that Cotton had misstated facts, had been immodest in physically treating Mary and had, in general, at least been accessory to fraud and imposture.

Of course, Cotton was indignant and had Calef arrested for slander, which was precisely what Calef and Brattle had hoped for. Cotton had swallowed the bait, hook, line and sinker and although the Mather family succeeded in preventing publication of Calef's writing, even publicly burning it in the Harvard Yard, the controversy raged fast and furiously.

Calef was calm, outwardly very respectful but bitter, and able, in denouncing Mather and the whole business of witchcraft. Cotton was not successful as a controversialist. He was vituperative where Calef was calm and respectful and where Calef appealed to reason and common sense, Cotton committed the fatal error of seeking support from his position as a minister.

Of course, public opinion was not ready to support Calef; and outwardly little was accomplished. Yet, actually, the evil of witchcraft had been broken, for, with Mather discredited, the evil hallucination had lost its chief promoter and slowly but certainly the panic died away.

By 1693, the fire was definitely ashes, and, by proclamation, Phips freed everyone in jail awaiting trial—about one hundred fifty persons.

If Massachusetts in general and Salem in particular are to be found guilty in this episode, this reign of panic, it must then be chalked up to the credit side of the account that the colony and community made a rapid recovery, once the absurdity of the situation was made apparent. And it must also be made clear, even if in repetition, that at no time, did the panic rage so strongly as in Europe or did any person ever suffer fire or, save for Giles Corey, torture.

Blacker against the colony and the town however is the aftermath, when the families of those who were executed, and the persons who escaped the rope but languished in jail, sought compensation largely in vain.

Petition after petition was sent to the General Court. But for twenty years they were futile. In 1711, however, the then governor,

Joseph Dudley, with the agreement of the General Court and the consent of Her Majesty, the Queen, graciously appropriated the sum of 578½ pounds compensation to be distributed without discrimination or proportionate division to the persons who suffered, or their heirs.

That was all. Meanwhile, many of the families of those who suffered had removed to other states or had lost their property through persecution natural enough when one of their number had been tarred with the blackness of the devil.

In fact, complete justice has not to this day been done the victims. Even modern writers—as for example Barrett Wendell, in *Were the Salem Witches Guiltless?*—hold that the accused were at least in some cases deserving of their fate on the ground that they were designing and malicious mediums. Allan Putnam in *Witchcraft in New England Explained by Modern Spiritualism* carries this idea further, taking the view that the witches were mediums, particularly “gifted” individuals who were able to communicate with the spirits of the dead, when to do so, was to hang instead of to make money as at present. Thus, in these modern views, the devil is smugly replaced by spirits of the dead who work through specially constituted persons in the world of the flesh.

Other authors, such as the recent *History of Witchcraft and Demonology* by Mr. Summers, still find the original explanation of the devil acceptable. Yet other modern writers go too far to the other extreme, putting down the entire panic to fraud and imposture. A few seek in the vagaries of modern psychology and medicine, hypnosis and related things, for the explanation.

Probably the correct judgment cannot yet be passed for, although the devil may be banished from this modern world of business, he is still alive and active in at least “four out of five” hearts—and until he is eliminated and until psychology and medicine progress further and develop a man who can both write understandingly and speak authoritatively, the matter must remain open. It can be ascribed to a panic—but what is panic?

Consider the case of Captain John Alden of Boston, son of John Alden and his Priscilla. In his old age, the brave fighter was arrested and tried in the Salem court—reason, respectability and individualism confronting judgment. He boldly kept his hat on, to show contempt of the court, and stood up on a chair, to show equal contempt for the “wenches” who accused him. “Let them see me clearly,” he is reported to have rebuffed the court when ordered to behave more conventionally.

The trial proceeded. “There stands Alden: a bold fellow, with his

hat on his head before the Judges. He sells powder and shot to the Indians and the French. He lies with Indian squaws."

Three conventional charges, observe, plus the witchcraft: treason, flouting of authority and sexual irregularity. Of course he was convicted but the jail was not strong enough (perhaps he had friends) and he escaped.

Witchcraft may be dead legally. (It flared up in Pennsylvania recently, remember.) But the same persecuting spirit that flamed to a climax in Salem in 1692, is still alive. Jealous neighbors, ignorant justice and inflamed public opinion, still claim victims. Alleged treason to nationalism, disrespect of constituted authority and/or sexual irregularity and the sacrifice of the innocent may still claim victims—even if not in the name of witchcraft.

CHAPTER XVIII

The French and Indian Wars

For eighty one years, from the flight of James the Second to France in 1688 to the peace ultimately wrought by the killing of the Indian chief, Pontiac, in 1769, a long and barbarous series of wars plagued all the English Colonies. Englishmen and Frenchmen killed each other in the forests of America as earnestly as on the formal battlefields of the Continent, and made the sorry business infinitely more frightful by employing Indian allies to aid them in the work of destruction.

For convenience sake, these wars have come to be grouped together under the title of the French and Indian Wars for, as far as the American and French Colonies were concerned, they were in essence the armed struggle which determined whether France or England should control the vast empire which the discovery of the Mississippi and the Middle West had displayed to the land fever of both nations.

The first war of the series is known as King William's War and as the War of the Palatinate and was brought about by Louis XIV of France espousing the cause of James II of England who fled to France when William and Mary came to England. Enduring for seven years, the colonies suffered terribly.

The war struck at New England when Count Frontenac, the French governor of Canada, prevented from attacking New York as he had planned by war with the Five Nations, caused his Indian allies to make a series of small surprise attacks along the New England and the New York frontier in June 1689.

The first blow fell upon Cocheco, N. H., when a party of Penacook Indians, led by Castine, burned a large part of the village and killed and captured fifty-two of the inhabitants; twenty-three were killed and twenty-nine were taken to Canada and sold as slaves to the French.

The second attack was made a month later, in August, when the Penobscot Indians appeared before the fort built by Andros at Pemaquid and, after a two-day siege, forced the garrison to surrender.

The third and fourth attacks came in the spring of 1690, when

a mixed party of French and Indians first surprised the village of Salmon Falls, N. H., March 28th, killed all the men and carried fifty-four women and children into captivity, and then, on May 27, fell upon the fort at Casco Bay and killed or captured the entire garrison.

Aroused by these brutal attacks, the emotions of Massachusetts were raised to fever heat by the reports that the French Jesuits, who had nominally Christianized most of the Eastern Indians and exercised considerable influence over them, had instigated the massacres and directed the atrocities—thus religious hatred was added to the anger at bloodshed. So, in May, 1690, at its own expense, the Colony fitted out an expedition of some nine ships with about eight hundred men and launched an attack against Acadia. Sir William Phips, a native of Maine, an officer, who by sheer ability had lifted himself from a farmer to high rank, was entrusted with the command of the expedition. Selecting the French town of Port Royal, now Annapolis, founded by the French in 1605, Phips easily reduced the village and gained sufficient plunder to pay all the expense of the foray. Leaving a garrison to hold the settlement, he returned in triumph to Boston.

He arrived just in time to be appointed to the command of the naval branch of the great expedition which, at the instigation of Massachusetts, the other New England Colonies, and New York, had organized to seize Quebec and Montreal. It was a major campaign, and the colonists were fore-doomed to failure as they lacked both men and supplies sufficient to make the undertaking possible.

The land branch of the expedition, composed mostly of men from Connecticut and New York, was commanded by the son of Boston's Winthrop, who had become Governor of Connecticut. Poorly organized, improperly disciplined and ill-fed, the army had marched as far as Lake George when small-pox broke out in the ranks. Milbourne, the commissary, found occasion to quarrel with Winthrop and thus the army, after halting for a time, began to dwindle away. Finally Winthrop ordered it to disband. A small detachment went northward but, in August, was attacked by Frontenac near the head of Lake Champlain and routed.

Meanwhile, the fleet under Phips, a fleet of Massachusetts vessels, manned entirely by Massachusetts men, thirty-two vessels and two thousand men, spent nine weeks in rounding Nova Scotia and making the long and difficult beat across the Gulf of St. Lawrence and up the St. Lawrence River. Frontenac, warned of Phips' approach, and relieved by Winthrop's retreat of the necessity of defending Montreal, hastened to the defense of Quebec so that, when in October Phips' fleet finally came in sight of the frowning cliffs of Quebec, it was only

to find that Frontenac had so improved his time by building defenses that the city was impregnable. There was nothing for Phips to do but to turn around and sail back to Boston. Instead of bringing back sufficient plunder to pay for the expedition, as in the case of Port Royal, Phips' and Winthrop's failures had to be paid for by taxes. The larger part of this burden fell upon Massachusetts and so great was the pressure that the General Court in 1692 finally relieved the situation partially by issuing bills of credit against the Colony. This was the first introduction of paper money into English America and was the cause of much future difficulty.

With Sir William Phips made governor under the new charter from William, which changed the Colony to a Province, Phips was able to take active measures against the Indians and, marching to Pemaquid in 1692, he built a strong fort there for the purpose of overawing the Indians. This proved a wise move for the Eastern Indians made peace with the English promptly. But the peace did not long endure for, in 1694, a party of Indians, led by French officers, fell suddenly upon the town of Durham, N. H., then known as Oyster River, and killed or captured more than one hundred inhabitants. Port Royal was soon recaptured by the French, under Villebon and, in 1696, Phips' fort at Pemaquid was attacked by French and Indians and captured.

With these successes, the Indians again attacked English settlements over a large area and created much suffering and destruction. In 1697, they penetrated as deeply into Massachusetts as Andover and Haverhill, within twenty-five miles of Boston, and killing many inhabitants, carried others off into captivity. Probably, Massachusetts would have in time gathered itself together and made a counter attack but, late in 1697 the news of the treaty of Ryswick, reached Boston and caused a cessation of hostilities. Under the treaty, Massachusetts found it stood precisely where it had started seven years before in so far as territory went and thus had nothing to recompense the Commonwealth for its slain soldiers, murdered women and children and burned villages and homesteads.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

Hardly had New England's wounds healed when a new war broke out. It was directly brought on by the death of James II, September, 1701, and Louis XIV's proclaiming Prince James, the Pretender, to be the lawful heir to the Crown of England. In England, Anne, daughter of James, had been selected for the Crown. To this trouble caused by Louis, the English considered he had also offended them

by placing his grandson, Philip of Anjou, upon the Spanish throne. These two causes, together with others, led to England's declaring war in 1702. This conflict, which is known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession, lasted until the Treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713. Although thus not concerned at all, the Colonies were soon involved in a bloody struggle and paid a monstrous price in blood and tears.

New York was saved from the terror by the Five Nations imposing a barrier between that Province and the French and their Indian allies. New England, exposed and practically defenseless, bore the concentrated fury of the attack. During the summer of 1703, torch and tomahawk visited practically every settlement along the Maine frontier from Casco to Wells. To this bloodshed, a new horror was added in March, 1704, when a force of three hundred and fifty Canadians and Indians crept through the drifted snows and, at midnight, applied the torch to the sleeping village of Deerfield. Awakened by the roaring flames, the unfortunate inhabitants of the village rushed out into the cold to meet the hatchets of the Indians and the rifles of the French. When dawn came, the few survivors found that forty seven of their fellows had been killed and one hundred and twelve had been carried away as captives. The suffering of these captives, particularly the women and children, was terrific. Those who could not keep up with the retreat were murdered. Among the captured was Mrs. Williams, wife of Rev. John Williams, who lived to reach Canada, to be ransomed and to return to Massachusetts within two years. His little daughter was also captured but, being kept by the Indians, grew up with them and eventually became the wife of a Mohawk chief.

Oddly enough, one of the objectives of the barbarous raid was the seizure of the bell that hung in Williams' church. This bell, which had been made in France, had been destined to hang in the Church of Saut St. Louis, near Montreal. The French ship transporting it to Canada was captured by a Boston privateer and, brought to Boston, was purchased for the Deerfield congregation. Father Nicholas, of the Saut St. Louis Church, accompanied the raid, personally salvaged the bell from the flames of the burning town and had the bell carried in the retreat to Montreal. There the bell was hung in the church it had been cast for—where it still swings today, blood and fire stained metal calling its people to prayer.

Boston retaliated with an expedition against the French settlements on the Penobscot but, soon, in 1705, at the proposal of the French in Canada, a truce was arranged for the consideration of the cessation of hostilities. The General Court opposed this truce and accused

Dudley, then governor, of favoring it so as to prevent an attack being made against Port Royal, which attack would allegedly interfere with an illicit trade Dudley's merchant friends were supposed to be conducting with the French town.

Dudley held the truce for two years but in 1707, the General Court of Massachusetts, with the aid of Rhode Island and New Hampshire, Connecticut refusing to assist, undertook an expedition against Port Royal. One thousand troops were raised and placed under the command of a Colonel Marsh. They left in June but, arrived at Port Royal, found the French so well prepared that nothing could be accomplished. After devastating the territory surrounding the town, Marsh sailed for home but was stopped in Casco Bay by commissioners from Boston who ordered a second assault. The effort was made but the only result was a large casualty list among the attackers brought about by an infectious fever.

The French retaliated with another of their characteristic flashing raids. This time, in 1708, in the grey of dawn, French and Indians fell upon slumbering Haverhill, set many houses on fire, killed fifty folk and retreated with fifty more prisoners, although hotly pursued up the valley of the Merrimac.

To retaliate in turn, New England planned a general invasion of Canada and, for support, solicited the loan of aid from England. Finally, after long delay, two frigates and five hundred marines were sent over to Boston. They, combined with the Provincial forces, were obviously inadequate but the force was large enough to once again attack Port Royal. The luckless town proved easy prey this time and Acadia was again English. Port Royal was named Annapolis to honor Queen Anne and the French name of Acadia was changed to Nova Scotia.

By 1711, more aid came from England in the form of a respectable fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Hovendon Walker. With the fleet, fifty vessels strong, came seven regiments of soldiers and a battalion of marines. The official objective was to capture Quebec and Montreal and the entire subjection of the French in America.

Leaving the Provincial forces to attack Montreal when ready, Walker sailed for the St. Lawrence. Displaying the same contempt for Americans that Braddock was to do later, Walker paid almost as dearly for his failure to heed the Colonial navigators for, on September 2, he lost eight ships and a thousand men in a wreck on a reef at the mouth of the river. This, of course, hamstrung the expedition and Walker turned back. The news of the fleet's disaster reaching the Montreal-bound column of Colonial troops in New York, they

too turned back. From then on, the war languished as far as America was concerned and in 1713, news came of the Treaty of Utrecht. The same year, by diplomacy, Massachusetts and New Hampshire signed a treaty of peace at Portsmouth with the chiefs of all of the Eastern tribes of Indians.

KING GEORGE'S WAR

The next thirty years in America were marred by only minor Indian troubles such as Rale's War, 1724-26. But, in Europe, the nations were continuing their quarrels and on March 15, 1744, France once again declared war on England.

The first that the Colony knew about the war was the surprise capture by a party of French of Fort Canso, an English outpost in Nova Scotia. Annapolis was also besieged but resisted stubbornly until a relief expedition, organized by the energy of Governor Shirley of Boston, scattered the French.

The Colonials, captured at Canso by the French, were released on parole and sent to Boston in a fishing vessel. Shirley had been anxious to distinguish himself by attempting the capture of Louisburg, a strong French fortress on the Island of Cape Breton. Constructed by France after the Treaty of Utrecht, it had cost more than five million dollars and was known as the Gibraltar of America. To the General Court, who held the purse strings, the project seemed fantastic but, when the paroled prisoners came home and, upon questioning by Shirley, declared that the fortress could be taken, their support of Shirley's plan was sufficient to pass the necessary vote through the General Court by the bare majority of one vote.

Shirley at once planned a most ambitious campaign. The necessity of unified action had slowly become apparent to the several English colonies and thus Shirley was able to add to Massachusetts' strength, levies from Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Connecticut while New York sent artillery and Pennsylvania provisions. Massachusetts provided three thousand two hundred men, four times the number sent by the other three colonies. General William Pepperell, a native of Maine and a wealthy merchant, was given command of the expedition. After waiting vainly for the West Indian fleet, under Commodore Warren to return, on April 4, 1745, Pepperell set out for Cape Breton. Unexpectedly, at Canseau, or Canso, he was joined by Warren with four ships and the combined force landed at Gabarus Bay, just below Louisburg on April 30th.

Although the attack had been talked about in the General Court and noised about during its long delay while waiting for Warren, yet the sudden appearance of the Americans surprised the French. But,

secure by reason of the deep mud of a marsh between their town and the landing place of the Americans, by a French fleet protecting their water-front and by a heavy battery, known as the Royal Battery, covering all land area that the marsh did not protect, the French settled down quietly to let disease and hunger among the attackers fight for them. But in this expectation, they reckoned without the energy of the Americans under Pepperell.

First, a dashing raid was directed towards the Royal Battery. Only four hundred men were sent but, schooled in Indian warfare, they screamed and clamored with such success as they rushed upon the fort that the French believed four thousand men were upon them and so, driving iron spikes into the touch-holes of their cannon, to make them useless to the English, retreated to the town. Still, the French were not greatly disturbed, for the guns of the fleet covered the shore and any attack from the land would have to be made across the marsh which was considered an impossible feat for armed men.

But again the French did not appreciate the energy of Pepperell's men. Spreading out in an arc, so as to encompass the town, the attackers slowly made their way through the marsh, dragging cannon with them on wide sledges so that they would not sink into the mud. One by one the French outposts fell and eventually, Pepperell held the town in the grip of a circle of small forts connected by trenches which protected the besiegers from the fire of the French.

In the meantime, Warren had captured one of the French ships, a 74-gun ship of the line, with five hundred men and a great quantity of military and naval stores.

This finally discouraged the French and, when on May 31st, the leaders, Pepperell and Warren, planned a joint assault, by both land and water, the news was too much for the French and, after parley, on June 16th, 1745, surrendered, yielding the fort, the town and the Island of Cape Breton.

When Boston heard the glad tidings, the old ambition to conquer New France by land was again revived but after immense preparations, and an advance as far as Albany, the project was dropped yet again because of the failure of expected British naval assistance to materialize.

From this point on, the war in America languished; the only flurry coming in 1746 when a powerful fleet was sent from France under the Duc D'Anville to recapture Louisburg and ravage the New England coast. The alarm spread like wild-fire and defenses were hastily organized but the peril failed to materialize for disaster overtook the French.

Storms plagued the fleet on its crossing and sickness greatly

weakened the fleet's strength. Putting into Chebucto, now Halifax, to recuperate, D'Anville suddenly died, possibly by being poisoned. His lieutenant, unequal to the command, committed suicide. Without a leader, the vessels separated and sailed home, arriving one by one, save those lost by shipwreck or capture by the English.

From this time on the war was not active and was finally closed in 1748 by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. By the terms of the treaty, all captured prisoners and territories were restored and thus, once again, Massachusetts found herself coming out of a war not of her seeking without a penny of profit to balance loss of life, bloodshed of women and children and terrific expense. Later the Crown did reimburse the Colony for its costs in the enterprise against Louisburg, but this was not sufficient to balance the account.

However, in a measure, Boston and all the rest of the American colonies did profit from the war. Their continued military experiences, together with the success of Louisburg, had convinced them that they were as good soldiers and sailors as the British regular Army and Navy. They had also demonstrated that they were numerous and wealthy enough to undertake ambitious military enterprises. But much more important, in view of the impending rebellion were the twin lessons driven home by the War: first, that they were evidently considered in England to be of secondary importance to the mother country and, second, that though no single Colony was in itself of any considerable military strength, yet, by union, they could accomplish much.

For the present however, the French and Indian situation was paramount and the continual boundary disputes between New England and Canada clearly forecast that a new war was imminent. Then, as France began advancing down the Ohio and the rest of the Colonies recognized the peril, England became concerned and the stage was set for the final and most severe struggle of the series.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

In 1754 the final war of the series, properly known as the French and Indian War, began. It was of tremendous importance in that it not only eliminated France from America but was the military introduction to the Colonies' struggle for Independence.

Unlike the other French and Indian Wars, this war was primarily an American one, for it largely originated here in disputes between Canada and the Colonies of Britain over the boundary line. For more than a hundred years, the two nations had been busy colonizing and expanding their territories in proportion to their swelling numbers. The English, who numbered more than a million souls, occupied the

seacoast from the Penobscot River in Maine for a thousand miles southward, to the east of the Alleghanies. The French, numbering not more than a hundred thousand, had settled along the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi and its tributaries to New Orleans. The English settlements were agricultural; the French were also trading posts for business with the Indians. Over the Indians, the French attained a great influence, due in large part to the self-sacrificing missionary work of the Jesuits.

Of course, even in America, the settlers were heirs to the ancient quarrel between England and France and, heated by the three preceding wars, the feeling burned briskly as frequent clashes along the frontier followed the close of the latest war. This came about by the desire of the French effectually to block the westward expansion of the English over the Alleghenies. To accomplish this desire, they built a chain of forts, sixty in number, from Montreal to New Orleans, launched a navy on the Great Lakes and established numerous treaties with the Indians over immense areas. This done, the French claimed all the territory westward to the Pacific. This vast region was already claimed by the English under their original charters. The matter came to its crisis in 1749 when George II gave six hundred thousand acres of land to the Ohio Company. This region was already occupied by the French who defended themselves by attacking the first English representatives who crossed the mountains. This business was the anxiety of Virginia and, while it introduced George Washington to public life, was no immediate concern of Massachusetts.

This Commonwealth was concerned however in 1754 when, advised by the British Government, representatives of all the Colonies met at Albany to discuss plans for general action against the French. Having made a treaty with the Five Nations, the meeting went on to consider colonial union. Boston's son, Benjamin Franklin, drew up a plan of confederation which was adopted by the meeting, July 10, 1754. It was ordered sent for consideration to the General Courts of the several Colonies and to the English Board of Trade, the Old Board of Trade and Plantations which, formed in 1696, was always a royal instrument against America. However, the Confederation was doomed to failure. Its fate clearly marked the issue of the impending Revolution. The respective colonies unanimously rejected it as being "too aristocratic" and the Board of Trade rejected it as being "too democratic." Though thus coming to nothing, the plan was of greatest significance since it gave the official expression of colonial fraternalism and was revived in 1765 in the Stamp Act excitement and yet again in the Congress of 1774.

In 1755, although neither England nor France formally recognized a state of war, minor depredations occurred along the frontier with the Indians led by the French opening again their murderous and barbarous raids. Shirley actively organized Massachusetts to resist these raids and took an active part in the convention of Colonial Governors called at Alexandria, Virginia by General Edward Braddock. Several plans of attack were determined and Massachusetts put nearly eight thousand men in the field.

In May, 1755, three thousand men, under General John Winslow, great grandson of Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth, sailed from Boston to drive the French out of Nova Scotia. In New Brunswick, on the way, Colonel Monckton of the British Army, with three hundred regulars, met Winslow and took over the command. The force landed in Nova Scotia and, without difficulty overran the Province. This was the logical business of war, but its sequel is one of the most unhappy episodes in American history.

Sixteen years before Plymouth was founded, the French had colonized Acadia and, when it became Nova Scotia under the treaty of Utrecht, though they yielded to Britain, the Acadians still kept their Catholic faith and affection for France. They declined to bear arms against France and were not required to do so by the then humane British governor, Armstrong, who regarded them as neutrals. They lived a pastoral life and developed their lands into rich and fertile farms, realizing the classical delights of mythological Arcadia. When England began to colonize Nova Scotia, the new arrivals found much to envy in the prosperity of the French and more to suspect in their stubborn French and Catholic sympathy.

When Winslow and Monckton finally drove out the last remnants of French military strength (on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick), the British governor, Lawrence, decided to compel all Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to England and to pledge themselves to fight against France. His purpose was strengthened by the fact that a few young Acadians were captured in fighting with the French at Beau Sejour. Somehow, Lawrence became convinced that the Acadians were planning to revolt against Britain and so he ordered them to surrender their arms and boats. This confiscation was rapidly accomplished without any difficulty.

But then, to prevent trouble possibly, but probably to give the English settlers the rich Acadian farms, the expulsion of the Acadians was agreed upon. A judicial process was put through and the order given to deport the entire body, men, women and children, and to distribute them among the English colonies. To prevent trouble when

this inhuman order was enforced, the military conquerors were secretly ordered to cause all the males, above nine years of age to report at specified points to take the oath of allegiance to Britain on September 9th, 1755.

One of these points was Grand Pré. There four hundred and eight unarmed men obediently assembled on the appointed day at the parish church. Winslow and a detachment of Massachusetts men was under orders to deal with them. Winslow marched his force to the church, surrounded it, locked the doors and then informed the men that "their lands and tenements, and their personal property, were forfeit to the Crown" and that they and their families were to be removed from Nova Scotia. Thus the men who had left their homes trustfully that morning, never saw them again.

From September 10th into December, the work of deportation went on; the unfortunate folk, while waiting their transport being crowded together along the coast, insufficiently clothed and improperly fed. When a ship arrived to be loaded, men, women and children were at times unintentionally selected at random and forced into the ship at the point of a bayonet, not by families, but as individuals. Thus, husbands were separated from wives, children from parents, lovers from lovers. Many of them, sent to different colonies, never met again. More than one thousand of these poor creatures were broadcast about Massachusetts. There, largely as a public burden, they, heart-broken and hopeless, languished and lost their identity. The spectacle caused great consternation in Massachusetts and, since it was the fruit of British military despotism, the colony took the business to heart as an object lesson of what England was capable of doing. Longfellow's "Evangeline" describes this sad chapter for all time, although not with historical accuracy.

While Winslow was thus busy in Nova Scotia, Braddock's second plan, against Crown Point on Lake Champlain, under General William Johnson, was launched. This expedition was also of concern to Massachusetts as it would secure her western frontier. The Province furnished a large number of men to the column.

Johnson established a base camp at Lake George. There, learning that the French commander, Dieskau, was approaching to attack Fort William with twelve hundred Canadians and Indians, Johnson sent a Massachusetts' colonel, Ephraim Williams, with one thousand provincials, to relieve the fort. Within three miles of Johnson's camp, Williams was ambushed by Dieskau and routed. Williams was killed in the retreat and, by his will, made but a few days previously, left a fund for the establishment of Williams College. Dieskau, following

on the heels of Williams' men, tried to surprise Johnson and nearly succeeded. But the English commander managed to organize his men and, after a critical struggle, defeated the French. In this fight, in which Massachusetts lost three hundred men, Dieskau also was slain.

While Johnson was thus defeating Dieskau, Braddock's third expedition, that led by Shirley, with his own and Pepperell's New England regiments, was under way to essay the capture of the French fort at Niagara. Shirley marched in June from Albany and captured the wee French post at Oswego, on Lake Ontario. While busy there constructing boats to float his force down the Lake to Niagara, the news of Braddock's own defeat reached Shirley. This news, added to the lack of provisions and the usual sickness, which constantly plagued military operations in those days, disheartened Shirley and his men and they returned to Albany.

There he was given his appointment as "commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in the American colonies." Knowing little of the art of war, yet possessed of great ambition and even greater energy, Shirley spent the winter in planning ambitious attacks against Canada but in June, 1756, in the very midst of preparations for the campaign, he was called to London and the Earl of Loudon was given the command of the Army. Loudon proved unable to complete Shirley's plans for 1756 and, after minor operations in upper New York, he dismissed the provincial levies and put the regulars into quarters for the winter.

In January, 1757, a military council was held at Boston and Lord Loudon proposed to confine the operations of the coming year to defense of the frontiers and an ambitious expedition against Louisburg. Massachusetts was disappointed that its old scheme of driving the French from Lake Champlain was thus sidetracked, but it joined with Loudon to attack Louisburg. In June and July the attempt was made, but the arrival of a large French fleet persuaded Loudon to abandon the attempt and he returned to New York to learn that the French had taken advantage of American inactivity along the New York frontier to capture Fort William Henry on Lake George. When the fort surrendered, Montcalm, the French leader, gave honorable terms and promised safe conduct to Fort Edward. But his Indians, cheated of booty, attacked the English and slaughtered a large number of them, including one hundred women, according to a report by Major Putnam, commander of the celebrated Putnam's Rangers.

This failure of English arms caused England to recall Loudon, to appoint Abercrombie and to send over a strong fleet and twelve thousand regular troops. Pitt requested the colonies to raise and clothe twenty thousand men and, despite the heavy burden of taxation, which

in a single year, 1758, amounted in Massachusetts to more than a million dollars, the colonists cheerfully paid the cost.

With the coming of 1758, a comprehensive campaign was laid out. Shirley's plans were adopted and vigorously prosecuted. Lord Jeffery Amherst, a capable officer, captured Louisburg in July, and thus began the tide of English victory.

Abercrombie meanwhile attacked Montcalm at Ticonderoga but was repulsed after sharp fighting in the deep forest there and forced to retire upon Lake George. His lieutenant, Colonel Bradstreet however, prevailed upon Abercrombie to allow him to take three thousand men and attack Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Ontario. Bradstreet went by way of Oswego and captured the fort without much trouble, seizing nine armed vessels, sixty cannon, and a rich quantity of munitions.

During the summer, the third expedition, against Fort Duquesne. Braddock's objective, was also successful and thus the year closed with British arms gaining three important points. Their success weakened the French hold upon the Indians and thus lessened the danger to the English frontier.

The campaign of 1759 was launched by Pitt with the idea of destroying French power in America forever. He put the competent Amherst in Abercrombie's place, and the work began. Amherst sent James Wolfe, his second in command, up the St. Lawrence, and that officer, after a summer of fighting, accomplished the tremendous task of capturing thought-to-be impregnable Quebec. Amherst himself assumed the task of taking Ticonderoga and was astonished at the French abandoning it without opposition. But, after carrying his campaign to the north down Lake Champlain, he was compelled to go into winter quarters at Crown Point. Amherst also sent General Prideaux to take Fort Niagara and then to join him at Montreal. Prideaux, after bitter fighting, finally did take Niagara but was unable to proceed eastward. Thus the year ended with Quebec taken in the east, Niagara in the west and Ticonderoga in the south.

Amherst opened the year 1760 with orders for his forces to advance upon Montreal from the three points. The French, undismayed, started their resistance with a strong bid to recapture Quebec. Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, ordered his lieutenant, Levi, down the river with six frigates and a strong army. General Murray, defending Quebec, did not wait behind the cliffs of the city but marched out to meet Levi at Sillery, three miles west of the city. A bloody battle followed and Murray was badly beaten but he managed to retreat in order and to gain the protection of the city. Levi laid siege but, on

May 9th, an English squadron, laden with reinforcements and provisions, appeared down the river. Levi at once raised the siege and marched west to Montreal.

The summer which followed was spent in Amherst marshaling his troops about Montreal. Vaudreuil held out until September, but then, realizing that the overwhelming numbers of the English would insure victory if the armies came to conflict, he capitulated on September 8, 1760. All New France in Canada was surrendered to Amherst, who undertook to guarantee the Canadians perfect security in person, property and religion.

This surrender ended the war as far as New England was concerned. The war continued with great ferocity to the south, but the demise of the French in Canada ended forever the horrible scourge of Indian attacks upon the New England and New York frontier.

Though the war continued on the sea between France and England until the treaty of Fontainebleau, February 10th, 1763, and in the Northwest or Ohio River region, until 1769, when Pontiac, the great Indian organizer, whom the French stirred into attacking the English, was killed, New England took no further part in the business.

The ending of the long series of wars found the Colonies heavily burdened by taxes but this distress was in part at least lightened by the Crown's granting large sums for recompense—as that of £575,000 in February, 1756; that of June, 1758 of £136,000, that of April 1759 of £1,000,000 and so on throughout the war. It is true that men and women had been killed and property damaged, but the political gain in large degree offset this. The colonists, having mastered the Indians, assisting in breaking the power of France, had learned the great lesson of the power of union and had demonstrated to themselves, as well as to the world, their political and military strength. There is no reason, however, to understand that, at this time, there was any conscious determination to revolt against England. It is true that the colonists were restless, that they jealously regarded their liberties and that they were beginning to become aware that to preserve their freedom against the Crown constant watchfulness was necessary. But that seems to be all.

The speech of James Otis (Hutchinson, *History of Mass.*, III, 101) upon the reception of the news in Boston that peace had been proclaimed and the war happily ended, may be well considered to express the view of Massachusetts in 1763. "We in America," said Mr. Otis, "have certainly abundant reasons to rejoice. The heathen are not only driven out, but the Canadians, much more formidable enemies, are conquered, and become fellow-subjects. . . . And we may

safely conclude, from His Majesty's wise administration hitherto, that liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be coextended, improved and preserved. . . . No other constitution of civil government has yet appeared in the world so admirably adapted to these great purposes as that of Great Britain. Every British subject in America is, of common right, by acts of Parliament, and by the laws of God and nature, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. By particular charters there are peculiar privileges granted, as in justice they might and ought, in consideration of the arduous undertaking to begin so glorious an empire as British America is rising to. These jealousies, that some weak and wicked minds have endeavoured to infuse with regard to the colonies, had their birth in the blackness of darkness; and it is a great pity they had not remained there forever. The true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual; and what God in his providence has united let no man dare attempt to pull asunder."

CHAPTER XIX

Social Life in the Eighteenth Century

When Massachusetts became a province in 1692, the commonwealth was essentially a theocracy, controlled and dominated to an amazing degree by Puritanism. When Massachusetts ceased to be a province, with the blood of Lexington and Concord, the commonwealth was an utterly different society. We today are told to believe that our social system is undergoing profound transformations; if our system is altering in the same degree as did that of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in the eighty three years of its existence then, indeed, the mutation is enormous.

The violence of the disruption of the old system can be sensed in the fervent appeals which representatives of the old order made to their younger generation. Cotton Mather told the young folks that they were "a carnal, giddy, rising generation" and he demanded their repentance for "offensive evils." Clergymen held fast after fast for their young people in vain efforts to attempt to persuade them to ponder on their behavior under the influence of empty stomachs. And, to the strivings of the professional Jeremiahs, amateur Calamity Janes added the strength of their pens. Such, for example, was Joshua Scottow who, in a book entitled *Old Men's Tears for Their Own Declensions, Mixed with Fears of Their and Posterities' Further Falling Off from New England's Primitive Constitution*, wrote "What is become of the zeal, piety and holy heat found in the hearts of our partents? . . . Is not their love of God and His Holy Ordinances, perverted in us . . . to slighting and neglecting not only instituted but natural worship . . . their souls' lively thirstings and pantings after God and His Ways metamorphosed into land and trade breathings . . . so as now we may and must say New England is not found in New England nor Boston in Boston; it is become a lost town."

Although the contrast between pre-Revolutionary Massachusetts and the state of today makes it clear that the fears of the fathers for the fate of the province were exaggerated, nevertheless, the old folks were

correct in concluding that their system was doomed. It was completely transformed by 1725 and, although a lingering remnant of theocrats continually attempted to revive the old flame of Puritanism, their efforts were singularly unsuccessful, save for periodic outbursts of religious enthusiasm, outbursts which, for that matter, were not peculiar to the eighteenth century but are experienced even today.

The fact seems to be that, early in the eighteenth century, not only did the growth of business and commerce make it unprofitable for merchants to be fettered by clergymen, but the people themselves simply outgrew the seventeenth century conception of God, which Winthrop and Endicott imported from sixteenth century England. With the easing of this Calvinistic imprisonment, life rapidly assumed new color and warmth. Men who dared to deny the Mosaic conception of God found the next step to be the jettisoning of most of the harsher items of the Mosaic code of law and morals.

Even more important also, particularly for the settlements along the sea-board, life was more comfortable and secure economically. Gone and forgotten were the mud huts; mansions took their place. Ships brought luxuries just as soon as the fundamental needs of food, shelter and clothing were satisfied; and, once the more lenient God of the eighteenth century was installed, folks found it possible to enjoy their increasing prosperity without the slightest twinge of conscience or fear of dour looks from stricter neighbors.

And there was a third change of considerable importance. In the seventeenth century, life in New England was largely that of narrow individualism. Every man carried his musket to protect his own property, real and intangible. But the growth of trade, the French and Indian wars and, finally, the formation of the determination to win independence from Britain, all united in compelling folks to think not individually, not locally, but first as a state and finally as a nation. Through the commonwealth flowed streams of ideas not merely from Mother England but from numerous other nations. French ideas of political economy in particular nourished the growing minds of the patriots. Holland, Germany and even the Latin nations sent ideas as well as goods. Massachusetts slowly grew to a mature condition and the newness of the "modern" system made the old seem so shabby and cold that folks turned instinctively rather than deliberately to the brilliant colors of liberty and freedom and prosperity.

In fact, everyone who objected to the changes the century inaugurated became, by virtue of the political situation, tacit defenders of both vested interests and the Crown and, where such men as Mather were not considered to be hypocrites, they were accused of

being opposed to the good of the common people. Thus religion, as typical of the old order, became unpopular in precise proportion as provincial life grew richer and more prosperous. However, this is not to say that the old principles of the spiritual life were forgotten. Not at all! The self-sacrifice, the dogged determination, the stern non-compromising uprightness of the Fathers was simply transferred to a new field of endeavour. Bursting out of the white churches, the Puritan spirit of the commonwealth overflowed into the Town Hall and prepared to exemplify itself upon the battlefields of the Revolution.

CONDITION OF WOMEN

If it be true that the state of any social system can be best evaluated by the condition of its women, then provincial Massachusetts advanced greatly over colonial. Although far behind to-day in active participation in business and politics, such as distinguished contemporary French women, the ladies of provincial Massachusetts were tremendously emancipated from the restrictions of their colonial mothers.

Their dress shows this. In place of the strict ecclesiastical regulation of their habits, they enjoyed liberty to dress just about as their fancy and purse permitted. Much of the most costly clothing was imported from London. The portraits of John Singleton Copley graphically show the care and expense the grand dames bestowed upon their garments. Less fortunate women, even as today, were forced to be content with domestic copies of London fashions. These, however, were not made from patterns or from plates in books but rather from dolls sent over from London to dealers, dolls dressed in the new styles with the most meticulous attention to detail and finish. Each doll, moreover, owned not merely one dress, but several and, in addition, nightgowns, shoes, hats and other accessories—including the unmentionables of the times.

The business of dressing the women folks also came into existence, for then, as now, women much preferred to wear clothes made outside of the home to the less expensive articles put together personally. Witness this advertisement in the *Boston News Letter* of 1716: "This is to give notice, That at the house of Mr. George Brownell . . . are all sorts of Millinery Works done; making up Dresses and flowering of Muslin, making of furbelowed Scarfs, and Quilting and cutting of Gentlewomen's Hair in the newest Fashion; and also young Gentlewomen and Children taught all sorts of fine works, as Feather-work, Filigree, and Painting on Glass . . . artificial Flowers worked with a needle."

Not only were the women thus freed from the sumptuary laws of the General Court, but dancing became permissible and shortly very popular. For entertainment, they were even permitted to attend concerts as well as more "improving gatherings" and, as a high light, they were not debarred from the greatest show of all, public executions. These occasions were regarded by the people as free shows; in fact, they were public as part of the punishment inflicted and, at every opportunity wives and sweethearts attended with husbands and lovers as a matter of course. An execution was a public outing and a vast amount of morbid pleasure and delight was extracted from the dolorous spectacle.

The diary of Judge Sewall illustrates this under an entry in 1704. ". . . After dinner . . . I went to see the Execution . . . Many were the people upon Broughton's Hill. But when I came to see how the River was covered with People, I was amazed: Some say there were 100 Boats, 150 Boats and Canoes . . . When the scaffold was hoisted to due heighth, the seven Malefactors went up; Mr. Mather prayed for them standing upon the Boat. Ropes were fasten'd to the Gallows. . . . When the Scaffold was let to sink, there was such a Screech of the Women that my wife heard it sitting in our Entry next the Orchard, and was much surprised at it . . . Our house is a full mile from the place."

And, as might be expected, women were far freer in matrimonial business. Girls and boys attended parties without chaperonage and, while doubtless a large portion of the marriages were quietly arranged for by parents, yet there was no legal ground for coercion in any way and many young folks chose partners even against the wishes of their elders. In fact, while it was most proper for the boy at least to go through the form of popping the fatal question, it was not uncommon for the girl to indicate that she wished to be questioned. Cotton Mather stands in one of his most human lights when he writes about a young woman who pestered him with her attentions. Listen: ". . . This young Gentlewoman first addressed me with diverse letters, and then makes me a visit at my house; wherein she gives me to understand, that she has long had a more than ordinary value for my Ministry; and that since my present condition has given her more liberty to think of me, she must confess herself charmed with my person, to such a degree that she could not but break in upon me, with her most importunate requests that I would make her mine. . . . What snares (she) may be laying for me, I know not . . . Lord, help me, what shall I do? I am a miserable man."

A significant change also occurred in the ceremony of marriage itself.

In the seventeenth century, so great was the fear of domination of the Church of England that its rites were all banned, marriage was merely a civil contract. With the eighteenth century, however, while marriage remained in essence a civil matter, clergymen were licensed to perform the ceremony and thus add religious sanctions.

Divorce was, of course, possible but it was very infrequent particularly in the early portion of the century. The Province still believed that the family was the fundamental unit of society and the triple influence of church, state and public opinion was rigidly set against any weakening of the family ties. The courts even went so far, to maintain the family intact, that the double standard of morality was recognized. A man could easily secure a divorce from his wife if he could prove that she had committed adultery, but no woman could gain a divorce on that ground until after the Revolution. Authorities state that there is not a single record before 1776 of any woman being given a divorce for her husband's unfaithfulness. Desertion was about the only valid ground if it endured "a year or two, when there was evidence of a determined design not to return." Failure to support and cruelty were also alleged as sufficient grounds by the women, but they were usually pinned to desertion charges. For men and women alike, the one serious offense was bigamy. Legally the death penalty could be inflicted, although usually less severe punishments were awarded.

Although freed from a great deal of the continual labor made necessary in the earlier century by the primitive conditions, the eighteenth century housewife still found more than enough to do in busying herself with the immemorial tasks of women. Every day, she was a dynamo of energy for, while increasing importations and manufacturing doubtless lessened the burden of providing some of the necessities of life, rising standards of living added others to take their place. Most housewives still spun, and wove, and made candles and soap, while, if an idle hour did present itself, there was always a quilt in the process of "patching" to be picked up, or stockings to mend or knit, and linen to be hemmed and stitched. The labor of washing was also a heavy one. This was usually a monthly matter and, when it is realized that it was undertaken without even the convenience of running water, let alone a wringing machine of any kind, it can well be considered to be the heaviest task of all.

Of course, in the homes of the more prosperous families, the burden upon the wife was lightened by trained servants who came into being as a "professional" class just as soon as the vast disproportion between the number of marriageable women and men became less marked than

in the days of the Colony. Really, domestic service was about the only refuge for women who did not find a husband. Even if the family was wealthy, brothers were not expected to support their single sisters in idleness and, probably then as now, spinster sisters often preferred to work for strangers rather than for sisters-in-law.

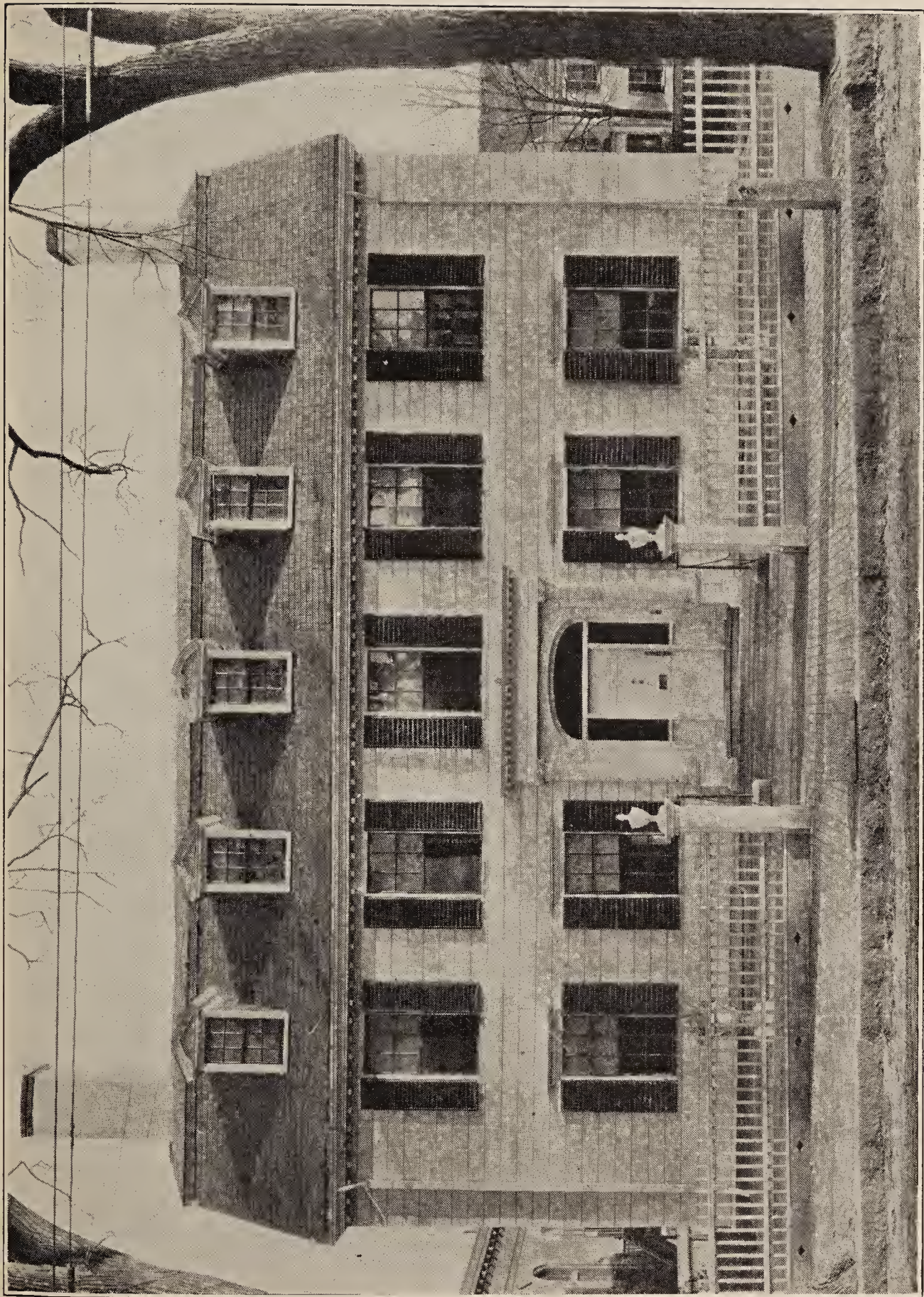
For the poorer families also, the burden was lightened for the wife by the children. Large families were the rule rather than the exception; ten or a dozen children in a single family were not uncommon. From early childhood children were expected to work; the boys outdoors and the girls about the house. Often, if a prosperous family did not have children enough of its own, it would take a child or two from a less thrifty but more prolific family and bring up the children for the value of their household services. Thus, although the burden of work which fell upon the shoulders of women was heavy, it was not as gigantic as the modern housewife, armed with her batteries of electrical labor-saving devices and services, imagines. It was all hand work, surely enough, but hands were both more willing and more numerous than now.

Probably the worst that can be said of the women of the eighteenth century was that they were distinctly inferior mentally and socially to men. Little if any serious attention was given to the formal education of girls; they were born to be housekeepers and mothers and they were trained as such. Undoubtedly then as now, most of them ordered affairs to their own liking, but they did not accomplish this feat openly as they do now; they accomplished their desires wholly by pleasing their men; whatever they received was given as a favor and not as a right. There is little evidence, if any, that the women themselves were displeased with the situation.

CIVIL ORGANIZATION

In mid century, the Province of Massachusetts Bay comprised 184 towns. By 1764, 14 others were added. The total white population of the Province itself was 222,563; Maine had 23,447 more. Each of these towns was, in most local matters, self-sufficient and evolved the town meeting form of government which, peculiar to New England, still persists; modified, it is true, in most cases, but yet practically pure in the smaller and less centrally located communities. Of these towns, Boston, being then, as now, the most important central body, may be considered as typical; the others varying in details only as geography, population and wealth dictated.

Public buildings were few. There was the town hall always, when it was not combined with a church. Usually there were



NEWBURYPORT—MICHAEL DALTON HOUSE, 1736 (DALTON CLUB)

Courtesy of The Essex Institute

school buildings; if they, too, were not combined with church or town hall. Larger towns had court houses and sometimes jails, although these were also frequently found under the town hall roof. Sometimes, as in the case of Boston, there would be a poor house or poor farm and, in Boston at least, a public market and public hall—the historic Faneuil Hall. What the towns did lack thus in purely public buildings, it made up in churches. Boston, in 1750, had seventeen church buildings.

If the town was on the sea coast, it was inevitably a sea-port for, as the Province was still agricultural and not industrial, the business of export and import was the principal one. Wharves were built out, often at great length, into deep water and huge warehouses bulked nearby. Often these warehouses were the largest and most imposing buildings in the towns.

Modern hospitals were an unknown institution. Doctors, such as they were, may have cared for patients at the homes of women who acted as professional nurses in some cases; but ordinarily, the home was the hospital. This condition is clearly displayed in the ordinance which obliged homes in which certain contagious diseases visited to hang out warning flags. Smallpox was probably the worst disease of the century and went far towards keeping the death rate so high that Boston alone, in 1750, had 1,200 widows. Doctors made it their chief concern to fight this peril and Dr. Boylston reported, in 1730, that he inoculated, in one month, fifty seven white persons and fifteen black. Inoculation in those days for the “distemper,” was a very serious business for the material used was the real smallpox virus and it gave the patient what amounted to a light attack of the disease.

Education, for boys, was the pride of the province. In addition to Harvard College, the public school system was admirably developed from its unexampled beginnings in the very first days of the Colony. The province believed that universal education, for boys, was the primary safeguard of the commonwealth and the general system of free schools was the answer to the principle. Of course, it was not free in the sense that it is free today. Families who could pay the cost of educating their sons were expected to do so; but if not, then the town paid the bill. School teachers were appointed by the town meetings, who also provided the necessary financial appropriations. With appointment and financing, the authority of the town ended; there were no school committees to steer the schools in those days. The teachers were the supreme authority; they taught what they believed should be taught and they taught it as they wanted it taught. In general, the elementary schools, which correspond to present day grammar schools, taught the three R's. The grammar schools, which

correspond to our high schools, prepared the boys for Harvard—and the other colleges, as they came to be founded. Colleges then were utterly private institutions which were open only to boys of wealthy families; the idea of state-supported higher education was not thought of.

For occupations, men who did not choose to follow the two principal occupations of farming or fishing, had an increasingly wide field open, particularly in Boston. They could be bakers, smiths, shipwrights, carpenters and cabinet makers, distillers and brewers, plumbers, hatters, tanners, shoemakers, printers, rope twisters, tailors, millers, painters, paper makers, barbers, innkeepers, doctors, masons, sailors, trappers, traders, sail-makers, shopkeepers and, if they had capital, merchants and land speculators.

Journalism was not then a profession; the modern reporter was not born. Newspapers however, were of vast importance, particularly during the later half of the century, as they served as the means of acquainting the people with the tremendous events taking place. In essence, the columns of the several papers were dry and formal and, in no sense of the word, "human." News reports were confined to bare facts and it is only in the advertisements that the daily life of the people shines out.

One of the most characteristic features of the towns was that they were built almost entirely of wood. Thus, in the larger towns, where the value of space crowded buildings together, serious fires were of common occurrence. Boston very early took the lead in affording a measure of civic fire protection. Regulations for the safeguarding of fires in dwellings and workshops were strict and gunpowder could only be stored in legal containers. Also, every householder was required to maintain a barrel of water on his premises for use in extinguishing a blaze. Fire companies, with hand engines, were organized by 1718, but, while they did unquestionably aid in extinguishing small fires, their equipment was not such as made them of value in any serious outbreak. The need for speed in answering the alarm bells is displayed in the fact that the town paid the members of the companies nothing at all but gave the first company to arrive and get to work a gift of five pounds. Great rivalry grew up between the companies and by mid-century every gentleman considered it part of his social life to belong to one of them. They developed in many cases into clubs of a sort which met at stated intervals at taverns, for "business meetings." At one such, held at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern, fifteen pounds was paid for the dinner—three pounds for food; twelve pounds for "port, punch and porter."

In all cases, the towns were small editions of London. This was particularly true of the taverns, where the men folks habitually gathered for cheer and fellowship. It was also true of the police and courts. The Boston police consisted of the Town Watch, modeled after the London Watch. This body, which cost the Boston citizens some \$60,000 a year, went on duty at 10 o'clock at night and patrolled the streets until dawn. The town was divided into several sections, each of which had its watch master, patrol and watch house. In ordinary circumstances, the watch was well equal to keeping the peace but in any general disturbance, it was valueless.

The courts were as English as the system of common law. The present Justice of the Peace is only a shadow of the functionary of that name in the eighteenth century. He was a magistrate in fact as well as name and was in all cases the first court to hear most cases.

Above him were the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas which held jurisdiction over all common-law actions. They were established in each county, were the seat of appeal from the justices of the peace and were inferior only to the Superior Court of Judicature. In general, our present District and Municipal Courts correspond to the provincial Justice of the Peace, our Superior Court corresponds to the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas (save that it was a purely county organization) and our Supreme Court corresponds to the Superior Court of Judicature.

The militia in those days was a vital arm of justice for, in addition to being the armed military force, it was the agent to which the magistrates could appeal for enforcement of law and order when the Town Watch could not function. It was far more important in this duty than is the case today with our modern police organizations. The Province took its militia very seriously. Every detail of equipment and organization was made the painstaking concern of the General Court and more than 30,000 men were organized to compose the body in mid century. The occasion of training the men was made one of great public festivity; it combined a stern and necessary business with all the pleasure and delight of a field day. Twice a year, in the spring and fall, in times of peace, the men were called out for training. In addition to formal drill, the activities included target practice and field maneuvers which afforded the men great delight.

LIVING COSTS

If, in many respects, life in the province was below the polished standards of European capitals, it was the constant concern of the wealthier folks of the larger towns to approach those standards as

nearly as possible. Boston aped the fashions of London and Paris and the lesser towns set their watch as by the Boston clock.

Everywhere people lived well. If money was scarce (the province was continually enmeshed in currency difficulties) prices were correspondingly low and every food stuff was abundant. Sea food was so plentiful that its price was absurdly low; a great cod fish could be purchased for two pence and a huge salmon could be had for a shilling. Beef, lamb, pork and game were also similarly low-priced and milk and butter and eggs could be enjoyed by everyone. Fruits in season were so plentiful that only the very choicest could be sold and those with the least imperfections were fed to the pigs. For drinking, tea was the staple cup of cheer, with cider so cheap that a barrel could be had for three shillings. Beer was brewed in great quantities and quaffed by the poorest fellow. Wines and hard liquors were the favorites of the wealthier folk. Diaries show that at fashionable dinners Madeira wine and rum punch shared the honors. Drinking was fashionable and not at all frowned upon. In fact, rum in particular was considered something like a staff of life and was served up at all times. Many of the minutes of old town meetings, the records of the building of churches, the planning of mercantile enterprises, and the business of state, bear entries which show that the wheels of progress all turned in a bath of rum.

IMMIGRATION

Boston, and most of Massachusetts today, is a composite of many races and nationalities. In the seventeenth century, however, it was, save for Indian and negro slaves, completely an English society. And up to, and for years after the Revolution, the Commonwealth still bore its English character. But the eighteenth century went a little way towards initiating the change in blood. The first new nationality to enter the province was the French Huguenots who, fleeing from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were welcomed by the commonwealth sympathetically as early as 1685. They, after an unpleasant experiment in frontier settlement, took up residence originally in Boston and, producing such men as Revere, Bowdoin and Faneuil, came to play a large part in the affairs of the State. If the Huguenots were sympathetically received, the next wave of immigration, the Scotch-Irish, who came several hundred strong in 1718, was not welcome. It was feared that they were paupers and would thus entail the burden of their support upon the province. However, they proved to be families of wealth and substance, who came in

answer to the provincial promise of free land to any person who would settle upon the frontier "as a barrier against Indians." When this became clear, the General Court gave them land at Derry, N. H. and Worcester and they finally became integrally welded into the life of the province.

Late in the middle of the eighteenth century an even more difficult assimilation was experienced when a few hundred German families arrived with high hopes and little else. They had been enticed with gross deceit by a German, Joseph Crellius, who, promised four hundred acres of land, undertook to obtain 120 German Protestant families for the settlement of two townships in the Berkshires. The man betrayed his countrymen and delivered them in Boston in debt for their passage and, practically, as indentured servants. Eventually some of these unfortunate people did reach the land set apart for them in the Berkshires and a number of them did found the town of Ashburnham but, in general, they faded out of sight and were quickly absorbed by the original settlers.

Still more unfortunate were two thousand Acadians who were thrust into the province at the time of the Acadian deportation in 1755. Victimized as they were, they were entitled to all the sympathy and assistance the province could give them. But unfortunately, their religion was against them and they could not be assimilated. However, they were not a permanent problem; within a few years most of them either drifted out of the colony or were submerged in one way or another.

Indentured servants continued to have the same status in the province as they had in the colony. They were not slaves, but were held strictly to account for performing required services during the period of their indenture. If, at the expiration of the stated period they had been properly "faithful," they took their place in society without stigma of any kind, and many of them eventually came to occupy places of wealth and dignity. However, if they had not been "faithful servants," when their time had expired they were required to assume a new contract of servitude until the demand of whoever had purchased their time was satisfied. In this satisfaction, however, the servant could appeal to the magistrates for judgment and they passed upon the case and determined the matter. The laws regarding the indentured servants afforded them some measure of protection. They could be sold from one purchaser to another but only within the bounds of the province and they must not be ill-treated, while sufficient food, clothing and lodging had to be provided with ample rest and nursing if ill.

Slavery continued also in the province as in the colony. In the colony, most of the slaves were Indians but the provincial years reversed the situation until practically the only slaves held in the eighteenth century were negroes. The number grew considerably during the period; in 1708 there were but 400 slaves in the province, half of the number being born within the province, but still slaves; by 1765, the census showed 5,779 negroes in the Commonwealth, practically all slaves. Being property, the slaves, were held in rigid legal bonds. Runaway slaves could be picked up and returned to the owner like a dog or cow, and laws for their punishment of any offense were most severe. For example, two negroes, a man and woman, in 1755, were convicted of murdering their master, Captain John Codman of Charlestown. The man was hanged and the woman burned alive. No mixed marriages were permitted. No negro could be served with intoxicating liquor in a public house and no negro was allowed to be on the streets after nine at night, unless upon an errand or service of his master.

PUBLIC WELFARE

The problem of the paupers did not develop any great changes during the century from the original policy of the colony. In general each town was held responsible for the support of its poor and the provincial government simply from time to time acted to settle difficulties between towns (as in the case of questions over legal residence) and to lay down general laws.

Such a general law was that which authorized the towns to "warn away" strangers if the authorities of the town entertained fears that the strangers concerned might become charges upon the town. The value of this "warning" is shown by the fact that its period was extended from three months to a year. After that time a person was considered to have established residence and the town was obliged to support him—for the fact of residence entailed the right to support in time of distress. The mere fact of the warning was sufficient to bar the person from becoming a legal resident and thus, as often the towns, through excess of caution, "warned" all newcomers upon their arrival, the province saw the strange condition of a large number of its citizens coming to own land, pay taxes and play active parts in civic business without ever becoming legal residents of their home towns.

Other laws of the General Court display the hatred the folks of the province held for all forms of idleness, not only as a means to pauperism but as a moral sin. Selectmen of the towns were ordered to make certain that all persons of able body, unless possessed of an estate sufficient to support them, followed a gainful occupation and

children of poor families were made the responsibility of the town in that it was the town's obligation to have them brought up in "some honest calling, which may be profitable to themselves and the publick."

To enforce these laws, the selectmen were given the power to arrest all persons who were able to work but were found loitering or wandering and, if convicted of idleness, to send them to a House of Correction. There, after the greeting of a whipping, the idlers were kept at hard labor until the magistrates concerned believed they were cured of the taste for idleness. Children of paupers, as well as adults whom magistrates considered could work but did not care to toil, could be bound out as servants.

The whole attitude of the province is summed up in the Acts of 1699 concerned with "Suppressing and Punishing Rogues, Vagabonds, Common Beggars and Other Lewd, Idle and Disorderly Persons; and also for Setting the Poor to Work." These unfortunate folk were to be suppressed and punished by imprisonment in county Houses of Correction and the cost of the correction was borne by the several towns concerned in proportion to the inmates they furnished. The Acts, as they detail the persons within its scope, add to the poor, the following: Fortune Tellers, Jugglers, Palmists, Gamblers, Common *Fidlers* and Pipers, Runaways, Stubborn Children and Servants, Drunkards, Night Walkers, "Pilferers, Wanton and Lascivious persons, either in Speech or Behaviour; common Railers or Brawlers, and such as neglect their Callings, misspend what they earn, and do not provide for themselves or the support of their Families." With such folk, were paupers classed in the eighteenth century.

In 1735, the colonial system of maintaining paupers in their own homes, was changed a little by the General Court passing a law which authorized the town of Boston to erect a poor house to which they could send paupers and thus maintain the town's poor more economically. This new departure proved so successful that, in 1743, the General Court made it legal for any town, or group of towns united for the purpose, to operate almshouses if they wished.

These stern policies were aimed as much at discouraging poverty as they were at limiting the expenditures entailed by public welfare for, time and time again, the General Court made liberal appropriations for the care of the destitute. Such was the case in 1721 when the Court voted a thousand pounds for folks in Boston who had been prevented from working by a smallpox epidemic and, a year earlier, the Court had authorized Boston to build a "hospital" on Spectacle Island, "and make it warm and comfortable for the Entertainment of the Sick . . . not able to provide for themselves." And several

times, during the Indian wars, the Court granted sums for the aid of refugees from the frontier who sought shelter in Boston when their homes were destroyed.

Even more illuminating is the fact that private charities flourished. Several charitable societies were founded during the century and even before. Conspicuous among them is the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston formed to help Scotch folks in distress. A distinguishing characteristic of these charitable associations was the skill with which they did their work and the pains they went to, to avoid embarrassing the folks they aided. Even neighbors of families helped did not know that charity was being given. Massachusetts may have been stern in discouraging pauperism, but the same warm philanthropic spirit which distinguishes the State today was at work even then and made the lot of the underprivileged less burdensome than was the case in other portions of America and in Europe.

RELIGIOUS FEELING

Although the fact that Massachusetts was a province and not a Puritan colony made it possible for liberty of worship to be greatly extended, it was strictly a freedom granted only to Protestants. The fact is that the commonwealth was violently anti-Catholic. Doubtless the French and Indian Wars, with the savage barbarity of the massacres, were in part responsible for this feeling, for every inhabitant of the province believed that the atrocities of the Indians were directly instigated and administered by the Jesuits of France. But it must also be remembered that the Bay Colony was founded partly as a refuge.

Since there were very few Catholics in the province, there was little actual persecution of Catholics but the Jesuits were greatly feared, almost insanely abhorred, and stringent laws against them were placed upon the books just in case the hated order dared to enter the Commonwealth.

These laws were fully as strict as those against the Quakers. Any person concerned with Rome was, in 1770, warned to leave the colony. If he did not leave, he could be imprisoned for life and any that escaped from prison, if recaptured, could be executed. Fines of a thousand dollars were ready for imposition upon any person who harbored a Jesuit or any priest.

As play often discloses the true state of a people's feelings, the century's custom of "Pope Day" shows what the real anti-Catholic sentiment of Massachusetts was. Pope Day was the American substitute for the English Guy Fawkes Day. Effigies of the pope and the devil were mounted on a platform and paraded through the streets

with the bursting of fire-crackers, howling and cheering and general roistering. The procession climaxed in a great fire in which the figures were burned, with boys and young men taking full opportunity of the occasion to play pranks and generally blow off steam.

Although any Protestant body was at liberty to worship as it pleased, the opening of the century saw every person, no matter what his persuasion was, taxed for the maintenance of the Congregational Church. Naturally other sects clamored against this practice and agitated for relief. In 1728 the Quakers and the Anabaptists won a partial victory in the matter by having their persons exempted from such taxation, although their real estate continued to be taxed for this purpose. Then, in 1742, after previous unsuccessful attempts, the members of the Church of England won a complete victory in that the General Court allowed them to escape personal and estate taxes, if they paid the amounts of such taxes to the support of their own church.

HOLIDAYS

Instead of there being a dozen holidays in the province, as now, the eighteenth century owned but three general occasions upon which the folks felt free to drop their week-day toil and join in festivity. One of these was commencement day of Harvard College, which was an opportunity for people from all over the province to come to Boston for not merely a day but several days of reveling. Election Day was the second holiday and it was a great opportunity for banquets, parades and general festivities as officers were elected for the coming year. To the rank and file of the men it meant also the opportunity to drink a little more deeply than usual, safe in the knowledge that it was customary to do so. The third day was Training Day and it was a great chance for men to get away from the women and, after the serious business of military exercises were attended to, to enjoy themselves masculinely.

And then, from time to time, whenever opportunity offered, special occasions were seized upon for celebration. The proclamation of a new king, the birth of a royal heir, the marriage of a member of the royal family, anniversaries of one kind or another—all were seized upon as excuses for eating and drinking, parading and noise-making.

For ordinary amusement, drinking remained the stand-by, while card playing became increasingly popular, despite the protests of the clergy as the century grew old. Gambling climaxed in lotteries which finally grew so obnoxious that the General Court in 1719 and again in

1733 forbade them as private business, reserving them for the profit of the State. In 1745, for example, a lottery to meet the province's deficit brought in about \$40,000 and others followed for the purpose of redeeming outstanding public bills, erecting public buildings, such as a hall at Harvard, for military expeditions, roads, bridges and other public works. Some of these were not as successful as had been hoped and the period just before the Revolution was wholly free from public lotteries.

Three other things also served as public entertainment; duels, executions and funerals. Duels at first were advertised by sending criers about town but in 1719 laws against the custom were passed and were made severe in 1728. Thus the habit died out for, while the victor escaped by being merely jailed for a year, the victim was deemed a suicide and was denied Christian burial, being laid at a public spot with a stake driven through his body.

Executions were a public thrill. The victims were not merely killed in public, but they went through a long ordeal of public sermons after conviction. The dock was walled about by milling thousands; folks commonly made journeys of several days just to join in the excitement.

Funerals originally were a sober religious matter—for to the Puritan death was a constant matter of contemplation. The eighteenth century replaced the eschatological significance with an expanding social ritual which eventually grew to heights of grandiose extravagance. Often a man would, in his last hour, attain a magnificence which his entire life-time failed to equal. In 1724 the practice became an obvious scandal when the expenses of Governor Burnet's funeral—a public charge—amounted to more than \$5,000 in the money of the day. So the General Court passed laws discouraging such great display and the services grew more sedate. Among these laws was one which, oddly enough, forbade funerals on Sundays not because of the fact that it was a holy day but because the funerals caused "many disorders and irregularities."

For pure sports, a game out of which our present football developed was so popular as to enlist whole towns in hard fought matches. Every boy played the game, much as boys play base-ball today. Horse racing, although anathema to the Puritans, was permitted late in the century, and hunting and fishing, changing from the sober business of food supply, became the pastime of town folk and professional men. The theatre remained, however, under its Puritan ban until after the Revolution and amusement-lovers had to be content with exhibitions of wild animals, puppet shows and models of famous buildings and events.

And, of course, being still in the main an agricultural economy, the people nearly all enjoyed the same rural sports of corn husking, barn building bees, sleigh rides, picnics and outings as have become tradition in New England.

The century was a time of great economic advance and of tremendous growth in ease, comfort, luxury and grace of living. But it was an unequal expansion. The new life rose to its height in Boston and along shore; from thence it tapered down as it traveled inland until, in the western part of the province, and to the north and east in Maine, conditions closely approximated those of the previous century. Boston was a little London; but the frontier still existed, having merely moved westward.

CHAPTER XX

The Genesis of the Yankee

While, of necessity, the evolution of the Yankee out of the original settlers of Massachusetts has been the ever-present background of the growth of the Commonwealth, possibly even the main-spring of that growth, and thus practically every chapter of this history is at least tacitly concerned with the subject, it is advisable for the sake of clearness to discuss briefly the Yankee as such, particularly in respect to his genesis.

There seem to be at least three mistaken ideas popular today about the Yankee. Through mention of these errors, perhaps a real delineation of the New England species or variety of humanity can be accomplished.

First, it is often said that the Yankee is a comparatively modern development—one which emerged well after the Revolution and flourished in the mid-nineteenth century until, about Civil War times, it was submerged by waves of immigration. This is all untrue. Whatever may have been racial conditions during the seventeenth century, by the second, or at the latest the third decade of the eighteenth, the Yankee was evolved. He was white, of course; Indian blood never infiltrated to any degree in New England. He spoke English, naturally, and, equally so, looked to London as to a mother. But, he was not English. For a century London had been 3,000 miles away across a very wet and very stormy ocean. Actually, those 3,000 miles then were seven times as great a distance as they are today. New England was normally a month away from home—and no son can listen to his mother's voice over that distance. And, what was more important, New England was dependent upon its own strength for life; the settlers had to fight the Indians, fight the French and, often, in trade and commerce, fight England as well. New England was in fact, an orphan, cast out to shift as might be. That the settlers succeeded so well,—so well that they looked down their lengthening noses at English military aid in major wars,—widened rather than healed the breach. Really, by 1750 at the

latest, the Yankee was a new race, using the word in its general sense. Today, Canadians are not English. Neither are the Australians. Nor were the settlers in 1750. Even then the New England dialect was developed, and even then the New England character, bred of cold winters, hot summers, starved soil, independence and prosperity dragged from salt water and dark forests, was fixed.

Second, it is often said that the Yankee is Anglo-Saxon. Nothing could be further from the truth. Of course, the original Puritan settlers were all Englishmen. But, even in 1630, Englishmen were



OLD STREET VIEW OF BOSTON

not Anglo-Saxon. Granting that the term could, however, be applied to the settlers, certainly within a hundred years, it positively could not. French religious refugees, Bowdoin, Faneuil, Delano and Devereux, to name but a few of the many who climbed to power and position, profoundly modified the stock. So did the Scotch—among whom may be mentioned the Shaws, Cunninghams and McKays. And so did the Irish and the Welsh—as Magee and Bardin for example. And there were Germans, too—the Crowinshields, among others. Not large in number, of course, these early immigrants—but then, the settlers themselves were not numerous. For general purposes, it is

often said that the population as late as 1750 was homogeneous. Comparatively, in the light of the present, it was, emphatically so. And, industrially and politically, it was, also. But, the point is—by the middle of the eighteenth century, at the latest, it was not English, it was Yankee.

Third, it is often said that the Yankee was a trader and nothing more. The wooden nutmegs of Connecticut are one fable, and that cargo of bed-warmers and woolen mittens sold in Havana by Timothy Dexter a Newburyport skipper is another. There is no disposition to deny that the Yankee was a shrewd business-man. He had to be, to survive. He sailed away from this coast with a cargo of dried fish, wooden articles and food-stuffs and had to swap what he had for what he could get in competition with the rest of the civilized world. If he failed, then New England could be nothing but an agriculturally subsidized fishing station in the wilderness. That he succeeded—and how he did succeed!—meant all the difference not only to his own pocket-book but to the wealth of every citizen of the new world.

But if the charge that the Yankee was a trader be granted, it is emphatically not true that that was all the Yankee was. Fundamentally, the Yankee was (this chapter is concerned only with the old type) an embodied contradiction. His was a dualism of purpose and character that kept him in perpetual conflict not only with himself but with the world. He was at once an inspired materialist and a determined spiritualist. Born and bred into the bone, were two things—a powerful drive to accomplish economic security if not wealth, and an equally powerful compulsion to save his soul through righteousness. Thus appears a man who must essay to serve two masters. In the economic portion of his days, he was cold, hard, determined, ambitious and industrious. No toil was too heavy, no dangers too great, no cost too high if commensurate profit was likely. The Yankee not only cleared his poor field of stones with incredible toil as a farmer, but sailed to the uttermost parts of the world, as a trader. All for profit—all to make himself safe and secure against hunger and cold.

In the religious portion of his days, the Yankee appears as burdened with a weight of introspection, soul-searching and travail which, if it did flower into an Emerson and a Hawthorne, must have been an uncomfortable drag upon sea-captains trading a few cents worth of scrap iron for many pounds worth of sea-otter furs. The Yankee's soul was his constant companion. The small voice of conscience was ever in his ear; it might have been loudest at night but it was never silent, not even in the heavy sunlight of the markets

of China. Thus the Yankee found himself swept with conflicting currents of dollar-chasing and soul-saving. And thus the Yankee appears, not as the restless, unhappy and driven man that he was, forced to find his only ease in ceaseless activity, but as a queer, odd race, grim and forbidding but always unpredictable.

Of course the Yankee was queer; he never knew himself which side of his character would gain the ascendancy—whether the need for money, bred by his poor-soil at home, would determine his actions, or whether it would be the imperative necessity of saving his soul, fruit of Puritanism, that would cause him to squander in a moment the fruit of a year-long hazard.

And of course he was odd. His religion and his economic need made him a very social personage. Only by community force were the frontier settlements created and defended. Only by community investment were the first merchantmen built, cargoes and manned. Only by community spirit was the straightened economic system maintained against such heavy odds as it faced. And yet, his personal needs made him the rankest kind of an individualist. Souls are not saved (Protestant ones anyway) nor dollars created other than by intense, solitary devotion. Accordingly, here emerged men who were at once strict conservatives in their ideas of personal property and personal religion and wild radicals in business methods and governmental systems. From one side of their being, these new Americans attempted to stifle, even to destroy several of the natural instincts and desires of humanity. On the other side, they gave unchecked exuberance to others, no more natural or no less unworthy.

Here then, is the Yankee. A saint at home and a devil abroad? Not a bit of it—or at least, no more so than any human at any time in history. Men who have left homes for more than a year, worked their way around the ice of Cape Horn, fought and traded with wild savages in Alaska and then sailed wearily, endlessly for months across the Pacific, could not be saints when at last they were free in an alien world. Nor could they neglect the dollars for which they dared hardship, and even death. Instead, the Yankee was at once hard and soft, loyal and stern, conservative and radical, tough and sympathetic, crude and delicate—in short, a bundle of contradictions since he was the new product of a new land. The Yankee was not English long—his new religion, his new climate, his new life, plus mixtures of immigrant blood from other nations, related but different, all worked like so much yeast in the Puritan settler to create him veritably a new race.

Someday, someone will toil at an elaborate thesis on this point, the effect of climate and circumstance upon humanity as exemplified by 18th century New England. Perhaps, the thinker may also find that the 20th century is having its effect too—even upon the present mixtures of people.

CHAPTER XXI

Rumblings of Revolution

THE STAMP ACT

With the Treaty of Paris in February, 1763, Britain sat down to nurse her wounds and survey her situation. Financially, things were desperate. The generations of struggling with France had heaped up an enormous debt which, although compensated for by huge acquisitions of territory, presented a problem which could only be solved by the imposition of heavy taxes. The total debt of the government has been estimated at nine hundred million dollars in the currency of the pound sterling of the time. Since a part of this had been spent in the military operations in America, the Crown naturally concluded that the colonies could justly be expected to repay a portion of the cost. Further, since a peace establishment of some ten thousand regular troops were considered necessary for the protection of the colonies, the Crown determined that the colonies should also pay that charge.

The ministry at once sought to obtain this revenue by means of parliamentary action. Although it was feared by many of the colonial statesmen that any such parliamentary authority would at once restrict the future independence of the provincial legislatures and considerably bolster royal authority, it does not seem that any of the colonies offered any immediate objection—as the authority of Parliament, as distinct from that of the Crown, was held to be a lesser evil. In fact, several of the agents of the various colonies in London informed the ministry that they believed parliamentary taxation would not be opposed by the colonies. In this belief, however, the agents were mistaken; they were not sufficiently close to the changing spirit of the common folk to realize that, forged by the French and Indian Wars, multitudes of former Englishmen were rapidly becoming Americans, who cared little for Parliament and less for the Crown.

A generation before, a revenue bill, based upon the principle of colonial taxation by parliamentary action, had been originated but through the pressure of war-time emergencies had not been enacted.

Also, by laws passed for the regulation of trade and commerce, Parliament had for many years exercised a nominal control over colonial business. These laws, although systematically evaded, particularly in New England, did establish a precedent for further parliamentary action.

So, in 1764, the new ministry which came into power then, headed by George Grenville, determined to take the first step towards raising revenue in the colonies by reviving the old colonial revenue laws. And, in March, the House of Commons, at Grenville's motion, voted "that Parliament had a right to tax the Colonies" and advised a bill imposing a duty on stamped paper, by which most legal papers, if they were to be valid, were to be written. Public officers were to be appointed in each colony for the sale of the stamped paper.

When the news of this proposal crossed the Atlantic, its reaction immediately dispelled any ideas which the ministry might have entertained concerning the willingness of the colonies to submit to such taxation. Every colony became agitated and loudly expressed alarm and indignation. Massachusetts assumed leadership in remonstrance and, in a petition sent to London, firmly, but respectfully, protested against the tax, declaring that, by submitting to taxation without representation, the people would be reduced from free subjects to "the miserable condition of tributary slaves." Other colonies forwarded similar petitions and vigorous instructions were rushed to their English agents to work against the bill. But, in spite of this lobbying, on March 22, 1765, the Stamp Act passed Parliament.

Boston received this news as a civic calamity. Bells were tolled in the churches and flags were hung at half-staff. The official copy of the act was imprinted with a death's-head in place of the royal seal and thus carried about the streets of the city. The newspapers all ran leading articles criticising the act and one sheet, *The Constitutional Courant*, appeared with a new heading—a rattlesnake, cut into thirteen pieces, each section bearing the name of a colony, above which ran the legend, "Join or die." Significant!

The Virginia House of Burgesses, being in session at the time, applauded Patrick Henry who presented a series of resolutions condemning the act, and passed some of them, despite cries of "Treason" from Tory members. Boston's General Court, meeting soon after, appointed a committee to consider the act. This committee reported a proposal for a congress of delegates from all the colonies to meet in New York to take united action against the act. The Tory party in the General Court opposed the motion but were outvoted and Governor Bernard, who was not a strong man, did not venture to veto the bill.

In October, representatives from nine of the colonies accordingly

met at New York and voted a solemn declaration which, in substance, held that the colonies were properly exempt from all taxes excepting such as were levied by their own respective legislatures. Petitions to the King, the House of Lords and the House of Commons were adopted which, yet affectionate in manner, displayed a growing firmness in tone and resolution.

These were the legal reactions. In Boston popular dislike for the Stamp Act took violent form. Prominent Royalists were hanged in effigy and the home of the Lieutenant Governor, Oliver, was mobbed; the man and his family fleeing in terror. Oliver, who had been appointed stamp distributor for the colony, was visited and compelled to resign his office. Although the members of the mobs were well known, and included prominent people, so strong was the feeling of approbation for their unlawful behavior, that the governor did not dare punishment. Other colonies also rioted. Stamp distributors were generally forced to resign. Thus the obnoxious law was not enforced.

In 1766, the Rockingham ministry came into office and, ostensibly more sympathetic with the colonies than Grenville, repealed the stamp act, although maintaining that Parliament had the right to "secure the dependency of the colonies in all cases whatsoever," and declaring that the colonists' idea that they could be taxed only by their own legislatures was "derogatory to and incompatible with the authority of the Crown." This repeal quieted the violent opposition of the colonies although the situation still continued strained, as was shown by the Massachusetts General Court, passing a bill in 1766 for money payments to persons whose property had been damaged in the stamp riots, in granting a free pardon and indemnity for losses sustained by arrests, imprisonments and other legal steps taken against men who participated in the rioting. In 1767, however, the quarrel broke out with undiminished violence when it became known that Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, had put through a parliamentary bill taxing imports into America of tea, paper, glass and painters' colors.

Remonstrances against the tax were sent to London from most of the colonies and, in Boston, at a town meeting, it was voted to suspend importation of all British goods until the taxes were removed. Also, subscriptions were taken for the encouragement of the establishment of manufacturing in the province. And, in the midst of a violent quarrel with Governor Bernard, the General Court found time to prepare privately and circulate among the other colonies, a proposal to establish a colonial union for the purpose of taking effective steps to prevent the execution of the new tax (properly an import duty) and to obtain its repeal.

In May, 1768, a serious popular outbreak occurred in Boston. The sloop, *Liberty*, owned by John Hancock, a rising young merchant, and an ardent anti-royalist, was seized by the revenue officers on a charge of attempted evasion of an impost tax on her cargo of wine. Hancock, a very popular man, was thus, in the minds of the people, set up as a martyr and a mob of folks streamed down to the harbor to attempt the rescue of his ship. To prevent this, the revenue officers towed the *Liberty* under the guns of the *Romney*, a man-of-war anchored in the harbor. This broke the temper of the mob who, turning upon the officers, drove them home with showers of stones and then proceeded to smash windows and enjoy themselves. A public meeting was called that night and a motion was passed calling upon Bernard to order the *Romney* out of the harbor.

Further fury was added to this outbreak by Bernard's peremptorily dissolving the General Court. Hillsboro, secretary of state for the colonial department, had ordered Bernard to procure the Court's retraction of the proposal for a colonial union. The Court refused to budge an inch to Bernard's request and he forthwith sent them home and told them that he would not convene them again.

This so incensed the citizens of Boston that Bernard became alarmed for the safety of his person. And, as the revenue officers were also frightened by their stone shower, following their seizure of the *Liberty*, they joined with the Governor in requesting military protection. So, in July, 1768, General Gage, the British commander in America, was ordered by Hillsboro to remove two regiments from Halifax to Boston and notified that two more regiments were sailing from Ireland to Boston.

Boston became aware of this extreme measure when ordered to provide quarters for the soldiers. A town meeting required Bernard to call the General Court. This the Governor refused to do. The meeting then passed spirited resolutions, declaring that the maintenance of troops in the town, in time of peace, was an infringement of public rights and tyranny of the most alarming nature. An order was also passed appointing a convention of representatives of all the towns in the Province in Faneuil Hall on September 22. Also, as "a war with France might be apprehended" all inhabitants of the province were requested to provide themselves with arms."

Governor Bernard denounced the proposed convention as rebellion and treason but the province received Boston's invitation with enthusiasm and ninety seven towns sent representatives on the appointed day. Only one town refused to act. The convention elected Thomas Cushing speaker of the dissolved General Court, chairman, and then drew up a

petition to the Governor urging him to call the General Court into session as a means of averting threatening disorder.

Bernard declined to receive the petition, ordered the convention to dissolve immediately and threatened to adopt military means of maintaining the prestige of the Crown. When another overture for a peaceable settlement was also refused by Bernard, the Convention drew up a report of conditions in Massachusetts, which they ordered sent to the colony's agent in London, and, advising the people of the Commonwealth to "avoid any undue expression of resentment and to prevent, as far as possible, all tumult and disorder," dissolved.

Meanwhile, the two regiments from Halifax arrived and, although a thousand strong, they were stationed in the town. Difficulties at once arose over the problem of furnishing quarters for the red-coats and with such demands as the Mutiny Act made of the colony. Bernard temporized with the tense situation by quartering the men in public buildings temporarily, but still the Council refused to supply the fuel, light and other legal requirements. This refusal was based on the ground that barrack space at Castle William was ample to quarter the regiments and therefore there was no necessity of providing for the troops in the town.

General Gage came to town shortly and, proving as unable as Bernard to bend the stiff necks of the Council, solved the problem by hiring private houses for use as barracks at the expense of the Crown. This, however, left the soldiers in Boston and the indignation of the citizens expressed itself in continual quarrels between the more robust men and the soldiers.

The next year, 1769 brought threats of reprisal upon the rebellious Bostonians from England but, as Virginia and other colonies sent resolutions to London opposing the projected punitive action of the Crown, the thunder died harmlessly away. This inspired Boston to be a little bolder. The boycott, established in 1767, by which the colony agreed informally not to purchase British goods, had been maintained with consistent regularity and now the local merchants went a step further and began to return goods which British merchants sent over. As other colonies began to follow Massachusetts' lead in this reshipment, it alarmed British manufacturers. By 1770 so strenuous did the complaints of the British colonial traders grow that in April, Parliament repealed all the impost duties, or taxes, with the exception of three pennies a pound upon tea. This was, of course, a mere gesture which was made to show that, while the Crown tacitly admitted the inexpediency of taxing America, it pertinaciously maintained its right to tax.

Late in 1769, Bernard was called to England and, as he delayed sailing until the following year, he was forced to witness the great delight Massachusetts exhibited in his removal. In particular, he found himself hated when copies of letters he had written to members of the government in London were brought back to Boston and published. Among these was one which proposed that the Council be appointed by the Crown instead of being elected by the people. This was a red rag to Boston who bid the man a fond farewell in January with the ringing of church bells, the firing of cannon and other demonstrations of delight.

Hutchinson, already hated by the people of the province as a royalist, shortly received his commission as governor and proved to be as unsuccessful as Bernard. All winter, in particular, quarrels between the citizens and the soldiers quartered in Boston continued—although nothing serious occurred until the evening of March 3rd, a Saturday, when several privates of the 29th Regiment were roughly treated by a group of citizens.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE

On Monday, March 5th, it was evident that the soldiers were eager to "get back their own" and, that evening the issue came to a climax. About 8 o'clock a small bicker took place between two soldiers and a handful of citizens. An alarm was sounded and a large number of inhabitants of the town poured pell-mell into King Street, near the present corner (just to the north of the Old State House) of State and Devonshire streets. This was the station of the main guard. A sentinel was posted there and, as the crowd gathered, some boys began to torment him by throwing snowballs. The sentinel, possibly fearing that something heavier than snowballs would shortly come his way, called for assistance from the guard-room inside the nearby Custom House. A sergeant and six men hastened out, being followed shortly by Captain Preston, officer of the day. The boys continued their snowballing and Preston ordered his squad to stand the crowd off with their bayonets.

This angered the crowd who began mixing stones and sticks with the snowballs the boys were tossing. Preston, probably worried, made a further show of force by ordering his men to load and prime their muskets and then to stand at ready. One bystander, Knox, inquired if Preston intended to actually fire. "By no means," replied Preston, "unless I am compelled to do so." "Then," Knox urged, according to his testimony at Preston's trial later, "for God's sake take your men

inside again; if you fire, your life will answer for the consequences." "I know what I am about," Preston answered.

While Preston was talking, a party of a dozen citizens struck at the soldiers' muskets with sticks, crying, "You are cowardly rascals, bringing arms against naked men. Give up your guns: and we are ready for you." Others, not so near the guns, shouted insults such as, "You lobster scoundrels! You bloody backs! Fire if you dare!" And then, amid a shower of snowballs, one of the soldiers, Montgomery, was knocked down by a stick. Stepping back, he raised his gun and fired, killing a negro, Crispus Attucks. As the gun exploded, someone cried, "Fire" and some of the squad emptied their muskets into the crowd. Three men were killed and either five or eight wounded, accounts differing.

Instead of causing the dispersal of the crowd, the shooting raised terrific excitement. More than a thousand citizens flooded into King Street and the guard was speedily strengthened until practically the entire 29th regiment was under arms, drawn up facing the mob of Bostonians. Bells were rung, drums were thumped all over Boston and the situation might easily have reached major proportions, and Lexington and Concord have been anticipated by five years, had not Hutchinson, informed of the peril, hastened to the scene. Stepping out onto the historic little balcony of the Old State House overlooking King Street, he entreated the citizens to retire peaceably to their homes with his promise that a full and impartial inquiry would be instituted immediately. Hutchinson then called upon Colonel Carr, officer in command, and had him march the troops to their barracks. This calmed the people and, by midnight, peace was restored.

For a week the city was, however, agitated. The bodies of the slain were conducted to their common grave by a grand procession. Committees from town meetings throughout the province united in demanding the instant removal of the troops, predicting a continuation of blood-shed if their demand was not complied with. Hutchinson yielded through his honest desire to maintain the peace and the two obnoxious regiments were removed to the Castle. Preston and the eight soldiers particularly implicated in the massacre were committed for trial in the following October.

Preston was tried first but, since it was not proven in court that he had given the order to fire, he was acquitted. Josiah Quincy and John Adams, two prominent patriots, were retained to defend the eight men and, in November, succeeded in obtaining the acquittal of six of them. The other two, Montgomery and Kilroi, were however, found guilty of manslaughter, were "each of them burnt in the hand in open

court and discharged." Four others were later indicted as accessory to the fact but, in December, were acquitted without the jury leaving their seats.

Thus ended the Boston Massacre which, ever after, has been seized upon by orators as an occasion for patriotic addresses. It has been regarded generally as the "Natal Day of American Independence" as demonstrating that Americans and British alike were prepared to shed blood over their differences. However, this would seem to place too great significance upon what was, in itself, a minor matter, really the event caused by conditions which led to troops being quartered in a city in time of peace. Independence was the spark struck from the steel of American spirit beating against the flint of British policy. The victims of the massacre fell only immediately under British guns, actually under British determination to maintain sovereignty.

COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE

As if the letting of blood had temporarily eased the situation, the next two years after March 5, 1770, saw little transpire of political significance. The governor and his royalist party continued their century old dispute with the General Court as defenders of the rights of the people. In 1772, however, trouble broke out anew when it was announced that the chief justices of the courts would be paid not by annual grant of the General Court but by disbursement from the Crown. The people viewed this as being at once a violation of their charter and a bribery of their courts. The usual town meeting was held. "A crisis is at hand," declared one speaker, "in which the freedom or slavery of our posterity must be decided." A bold and spirited statement of the people's rights and the several transgressions being made upon them was drawn up. The situation, the statement declared, was sufficient to justify the province in revolting and erecting an independent government. Then, it was ordered that a Committee of Correspondence be established to transmit copies of the statement to all the colonies.

Samuel Adams is responsible for the momentous business. He phrased the order as follows: "That a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty one persons, to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men and Christians, and as subjects; and to communicate and publish the same to the several towns and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time, may be made."

James Otis was appointed chairman, William Cooper, clerk, and the

work immediately began. It, beyond question, was an important business; it laid the working foundation for the ultimate American Union. On November 20, 1772, the first report was published; it is a fundamental statement of American political philosophy. Colonists had naturally, "a right to life, liberty, and to property, together with the right to support them in the best manner they can. All men have a right to remain in a state of nature as long as they please; and, in case of intolerable oppression, civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to, and enter into another. When men enter into society, it is by voluntary consent; and they have a right to insist upon the performance of such conditions and previous limitations as form an equitable original compact. Every natural right, not expressly given up, or from the nature of the social compact necessarily ceded, remains. All positive and civil laws should conform as far as possible, to the law of natural reason and equity. Every man has a right peaceably and quietly to worship God after the dictates of his conscience; and, in regard to religion, mutual toleration in the different professions thereof is what all good and candid minds in all ages have ever practiced, and, both by precept and example, inculcated on mankind. The natural liberty of man, by entering into society is abridged or restrained so far only as is necessary for the great end of society—the best good of the whole."

So much for generalities; now, specifically, Americans have certain rights. "All persons born in British American colonies are, by the laws of God and nature, and by the common law of England, exclusive of all charters from the Crown, entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent and inseparable rights, liberties, and privileges of subjects born in Great Britain, or within the realm. The legislative power is for the preservation of society; and it has no right to absolute, arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of the people; nor can mortals assume a prerogative, not only too high for men, but for angels, and therefore reserved to Deity alone. An independent judiciary is likewise essential. There should be one rule of justice for rich and poor—for the favorite at court and the countryman at the plough. And the supreme power cannot justly take from any man any part of his property, without his consent in person or by his representative."

Then followed a long list of "infringements and violations of these rights": "the assumption of absolute legislative powers; the imposition of taxes without the consent of the people; the appointment of officers unknown to the charter, supported by income derived from such taxes; the investing of these officers with unconstitutional powers, especially the commissioners of His Majesties' Customs; the annulment of laws

enacted by the court, after the time limit for their rejection had expired; the introduction of fleets and armies into the colonies; the support of the executive and the judiciary independently of the people; the oppressive instructions sent to the governor; the extension of the powers of the Courts of the Vice Admiralty; the restriction of manufactures; the act relating to dock yards and stores, which deprived the people of the right by trial by peers of the vicinage; the attempt to establish an American episcopate; and the alterations of the boundaries of Colonies by decisions before the King and Council."

To these sentiments, letters sent to the towns requested expression of opinion. "A free communication of your sentiments . . . of our common danger is earnestly solicited, and will be gratefully received. If you concur with us in opinion that our rights are properly stated, and that the several acts of Parliament and measures of administration pointed out by us are subversive of these rights, you will doubtless think it of the utmost importance that we stand firm, as one man, to recover and support them, and to take such measures, by directing our representatives or otherwise . . . to rescue from impending ruin our happy and glorious constitution. But if it should be the general voice of this province that these rights, as we have stated them, do not belong to us, or that the several measures of administration in the British court are no violations of these rights, or that, if they are thus violated or infringed, they are not worth contending for or resolutely maintaining . . . we must be resigned to our wretched fate, but shall forever lament the extinction of that generous ardor for civil and religious liberty which, in the face of every danger and even death itself, induced our fathers to forsake the bosom of their native country, and begin a settlement on bare creation. But we trust this cannot be the case. We are sure of your wisdom, your regard to yourselves and the rising generation, cannot suffer you to doze, or sit supinely indifferent on the brink of destruction, while the iron hand of oppression is daily tearing the choicest fruit from the fair tree of liberty, planted by our worthy predecessors at the expense of their treasure and watered abundantly with their blood. . . . Let us consider, brethren, we are struggling for our best birthrights and inheritance, which being infringed, renders all our blessings precarious in their enjoyments, and, consequently, trifling in their value. Let us disappoint the men who are raising themselves on the ruin of this country. Let us convince every invader of our freedom that we will be as free as the constitution our fathers recognized will justify."

Hutchinson considered the "Committees of Correspondence so foolish as must necessarily make them ridiculous." But the reverse soon

proved true. Samuel Adams exclaimed, "God grant that the love of liberty and a zeal to support it may enkindle in every town." It did. Every town responded to the call and, within a few months, committees of correspondence were established everywhere.

Not only did committees spring up and flourish in New England but, with Virginia's Legislature endorsing the plan and the Boston letters, the movement spread amongst the entire body of colonies and, in effect, not only were ideas exchanged but news was also broadcast. Thus, although informal, a virtual union of the American colonies was prepared for and, when the time arrived for the union to become a physical fact, the various delegates met not as strangers but as friends who had established firm bonds of sympathy and understanding through their several Committees of Correspondence.

With Samuel Adams early in 1773 declaring that "A most violent political earthquake (will split) the British Empire" and, "This unhappy situation will end in rivers of blood; but America will wash her hands in innocence," Hutchinson changed his mind concerning the futility of the Committees of Correspondence and became alarmed. In his uneasiness, he forgot his royal instructions to avoid disputes with the General Court, and, when the first session of the 1773 General Court met, he boldly grasped the bull by the horns and undertook, in his message to the Court, to refute the statements of the Boston Committee. This was a glorious opportunity for the Court to express themselves officially and, both branches drew up replies in which, eloquently and logically, displayed how they considered the charter of the province had been violated and expressed their determination to protect the charter from all future encroachments in so far as they were able to do so. Then the House prepared a set of resolutions, the meat of which was that they considered the only authority from which laws could emanate legally resided in the General Court.

And then, with the second session of the Legislature, the delegates turned their guns upon Hutchinson himself. Franklin, then agent of the province in England, in some way had obtained possession of some royalist letters written in Boston and addressed to government leaders in London. Some of these were alleged to be the work of Hutchinson and they in substance advised the use of coercive measures against Boston, and implied the abrogation of the charter, as the only means of subordinating the Puritans to the Crown.

These letters the people chose to regard as rank treachery and both houses of the General Court sent a remonstrance to London, charging Hutchinson with betrayal of his trust, with having written false and malicious half-truths—all to the end of injuring the Province—and

prayed for his speedy removal from office. A few months later, the Privy Council in London gave a hearing to the remonstrance and proceeded to whitewash Hutchinson. Franklin, as agent of the Province, was in attendance and was overwhelmed with abuse and shortly afterwards deprived of his office as deputy postmaster-general of the Colonies.

However, the British ministry was growing weary of the endless difficulty civil governors were encountering in Massachusetts and it was determined temporarily to suspend Hutchinson and appoint in his place a military officer, General Gage, the commander-in-chief in America. Delays, however, continued and it was not until February, 1774, that the change was made.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

Meanwhile, the Provinces, particularly Massachusetts, were constantly busy in agitating the repeal of the impost tax on tea. While this was not in itself a heavy burden, yet it was legally an exemplification of the English determination to establish the principle of taxation of the colonies by Parliament. Therefore, it was obnoxious. The colonies' most useful weapon against the impost was the general non-consumption and non-importation agreements. They were so effective that, by the end of 1773, no tea imported from Britain was to be bought in the open market; the country being supplied by smuggled teas or else making shift with substitutes brewed from native herbs.

In England, the situation became serious as vast quantities of the perishable leaves piled up in the warehouses of the British East India Company. The year 1773 saw an accumulation of seventeen million pounds of tea for which no market could be found. The Company, fearing bankruptcy brought pressure to bear upon the Crown and was rewarded with a rebate equal to the amount of the tax so that the Company could actually transport the tea to America and offer it for sale at a price as low as if no tax were levied at all. Thinking that, by this means, the colonies might be persuaded to receive the tea, the company prepared several cargoes for export to America. Before the ships sailed, the various colonial agents warned the merchants that the teas would not be received "for the American love of liberty and determination not to be taxed is greater than the cupidity you so artfully are attempting to appeal to." However, backed by Lord North, who claimed that George III was determined to force the issue with the Colonies once and for all, the ships sailed.

Indignation in the Colonies grew intense. The newspapers declared that "whoever should purchase and use this tea would drink political

damnation to themselves." Boston was particularly heated and, led by Samuel Adams and other patriots, fiery speeches were delivered and inflammatory printed matter was broadcast.

The first ship arrived in Philadelphia and was stopped below the city, turned around and sent home. New York similarly treated the ships consigned to that port. At Charleston, the tea was permitted to be landed but was stored and not allowed to be sold.



THE JOHN HANCOCK HOUSE, BOSTON

Boston did not wait for its tea ships to arrive but on November 1, 1773, ordered Governor Hutchinson, who, under the names of his sons, had been selected as one of the consignees of the tea, to appear at a public meeting under the Liberty Tree (Washington Street corner of Essex), November 3rd, to resign his commission. On the 3rd, the famous tree was decorated with flags and, at 11 o'clock, five hundred persons were assembled. Samuel Adams, John Hancock and William Phillips, three patriots, addressed them until noon, when, the Governor failing to appear, a committee was appointed to visit personally all the consignees and force their resignations. Richard Clarke, a consignee, was found at his warehouse on King Street but, instead of being

intimidated, refused to pay any attention to the committee whatever. This bold front encouraged the other merchants concerned and they likewise, despite threats that they "would be dealt with," remained obstinate.

During the next few days, a series of meetings was held in Faneuil Hall at which the patriot leaders talked and the gatherings passed resolutions. But, as no tea was on hand and there was nothing specific to do, the matter was consumed with talk. However, on November 17th, when Jonathan Clarke arrived from London (he was an employee of the East India Company) with the news that the tea was to be expected shortly, the Faneuil Hall meetings became active again and demanded that the several consignees of the tea resign. Instead of doing so, the stubborn merchants applied to the Governor for military protection of their persons and for military guard during the projected landing of the tea. Hutchinson called the Council and these worthy gentlemen declined to grant the merchants' request and left the luckless importers to shift for themselves.

The next ten days were busy with town meetings in all parts of Greater Boston, as well as in the City itself, called to brace the citizens in their announced determination "that the teas shall never be landed." Hutchinson became alarmed and at one time planned to "flee to the Castle, where he might, with safety to his person, more freely give his sense of the criminality of the proceedings."

Among the resolutions passed during the week by many towns of the province, that of Cambridge is significant, "And as it is very apparent that the Town of Boston *are* now struggling for the LIBERTIES of their country, it is therefore Resolved, that this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston and other towns in any measure that may be thought proper to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery."

On Sunday, November 28th, the *Dartmouth*, one of the tea ships arrived, bearing one hundred and fourteen chests. The Committee of Correspondence, obtaining from Rotch, the owner, of the vessel, a promise not to enter the ship until Tuesday, called a meeting for Monday of all citizens of Greater Boston. "Every friend to his country," the invitation ran, "to himself, and to posterity" (should come) "to make a united front and successful resistance to this last, worst and most destructive measure of administration."

Monday night came and so great a gathering responded that Faneuil Hall could not contain them and the meeting was transferred to the Old South Meeting House. Jonathan Williams, John Hancock, Samuel Adams as well as Young, Molineux and Warren, fearlessly addressed

the host, which numbered at least five thousand persons, including those massed about the outside of the building. Samuel Adams at length offered a resolution, unanimously adopted, that "the tea should be sent back from whence it came . . . and that no duty should be paid on it." The consignees asked for time for consultation and were given until morning.

Assembled once more, the patriots received the consignees who, declaring that it was beyond their power to send back the tea, said that they were willing to store it until otherwise advised from London. In the midst of the ensuing discussion, the sheriff of Suffolk County entered with an order from the Governor demanding the meeting to disperse. This order was received with a storm of hisses and the meeting continued unabashed. The master and owner of the *Dartmouth*, as well as the owners of the other two ships expected, were next haled before the meeting and obliged to promise that they would cause the teas to be returned. The meeting then adjourned. The other two ships soon arrived and the situation remained at a deadlock.

Finally, on December 16, two thousand citizens assembled in the Old South to consider the stalemate. Reports were given that Rotch, owner of the *Dartmouth* had been refused a clearance. He was told to apply to the Governor and departed for Milton, where the Governor had retired. Hours went by. The day passed. Candles were brought in to shadow the white enamel and sober dignity of the old church. The people doubled in number until there was not room for another person to squeeze within. Finally, Rotch returned, just before six o'clock, and reported that the Governor had refused him a clearance. In the hushed stillness, Samuel Adams rose. "We can do nothing more to save the country," he said.

An instant of silence and then, with a war whoop, some fifty men, dressed and painted as Indians, left the Church and hurried down to the tea ships, tied up at Griffin's Wharf, near the corner of Pearl Street and Atlantic Avenue. The members of the meeting streamed in the hooting wake of the "Mohawks" and stood in awed silence as the men boarded the ships and spent an industrious three hours in smashing open the chests of tea and emptying their contents into the dark waters of the harbor. So silent was the business that witnesses for a mile around could hear the blows of the axes and the rending of the wooden chests. The work done, with a single final whoop of exultation, the Indians vanished and the crowd quietly dispersed.

Next morning, windrows of tea leaves strewed the beaches of the harbor like sea-weed after an easterly gale. For the moment nothing happened. The boldness, the seriousness and the implications of the

stroke paralyzed Hutchinson. He sat down and wrote letters to London, saying that everyone was against him. "There was not a justice of the peace," he wrote, "a sheriff, constable or peace officer in the province who would venture to take cognizance of any breach of law against the general bent of the people." He added he was unable to maintain even "a show of authority." Governor and General Court, loyalists and patriots, sat down to await the reaction of Britain.

CHAPTER XXII

The Fateful Year—1774

There have been few years as important in the history of Massachusetts as 1774. The year opened with the commonwealth holding its breath while waiting for the outcome of the Boston Tea Party. The year continued with Great Britain exhibiting such a complete ignorance of colonial management as justified the previous warnings of even the most extreme patriots. The year ended with not merely a growing determination to strike for independence but with a clear definition of the particular issues over which and because of which the struggle was to be fought.

Seldom in the history of European imperial expansion has there been presented such a spectacle as England's relations to America in 1774; while ignorance of the true situation doubtless played the determinant part in the tragedy, yet almost every act of Parliament was, in effect, designed to force America either to rebel or to yield. There could be no middle course. Burke, and other friends of America, ably pleaded the case for conciliation and milder tactics but the great bulk of Parliament was determined to force the issue, once and for all. Lord Mansfield, speaking in Parliament, said, "If we take a determined stand now, Boston will submit, and all will end in victory without carnage." Mr. Venn, another speaker, remarked, "The Town of Boston ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed. You will never meet with proper obedience until you have destroyed this nest of locusts." What chance had Burke's remarks against this attitude? His words, "Let us act as men; let us act as statesmen. Let us hold some sort of consistent conduct. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood. Do not burden them by taxes. When you drive him hard, the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If our sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty into your face. Nobody will be argued into slavery," fell upon deaf ears.

In Boston, while waiting for the news of the Tea Party to

cross the Atlantic and for news of Parliament's reaction to return, Hutchinson, after postponing the annual meeting of the General Court for nearly a month, at last opened it late in January without making any references to the Tea Party. In February, however, he locked horns with the legislators again over the question of the judges taking their salaries from the Crown instead of from the General Court. Of the five judges concerned, four accepted the money from the Court; Oliver alone refused to be paid by the province. Enraged, the Court attempted to impeach him but Hutchinson defeated the plan by proroguing the session. Interestingly enough, the House kept the Governor's messenger waiting while they completed urgent business and authorized the Committee of Correspondence to act in certain matters while they were in recess, before listening to what the Governor had ordered.

Early in March, Parliament received official notification of the Boston Tea Party and, after a month of violent outpourings of indignation against the Puritan capital, the Commons and the Lords passed five measures which, aimed at punishing Boston and the province, actually broke the bond between Old England and New England.

First of the five was the "Regulating Act" which, in effect, abrogated the provincial charter in that it made the upper house of the General Court appointive rather than elective, put the nomination and recall of all councillors and magistrates in the Governor's hands and, what was even worse, destroyed New England's backbone, the Town Meeting, excepting emasculated sessions held at the pleasure and for purposes dictated by the Governor.

The second act was concerned with the administration of justice and it struck at the very roots of the province's legal practice by providing that persons charged with murder or other capital offenses, growing out of activities in connection with the suppression of riots, could be tried not in the locus of their crime by a jury of peers of the vicinage but in Nova Scotia or in England.

The third act provided that the four new regiments of British soldiers, ordered overseas to reinforce the two already in station in Boston, were to be quartered upon the inhabitants of the town and not in Castle William or in public buildings, as had been the custom.

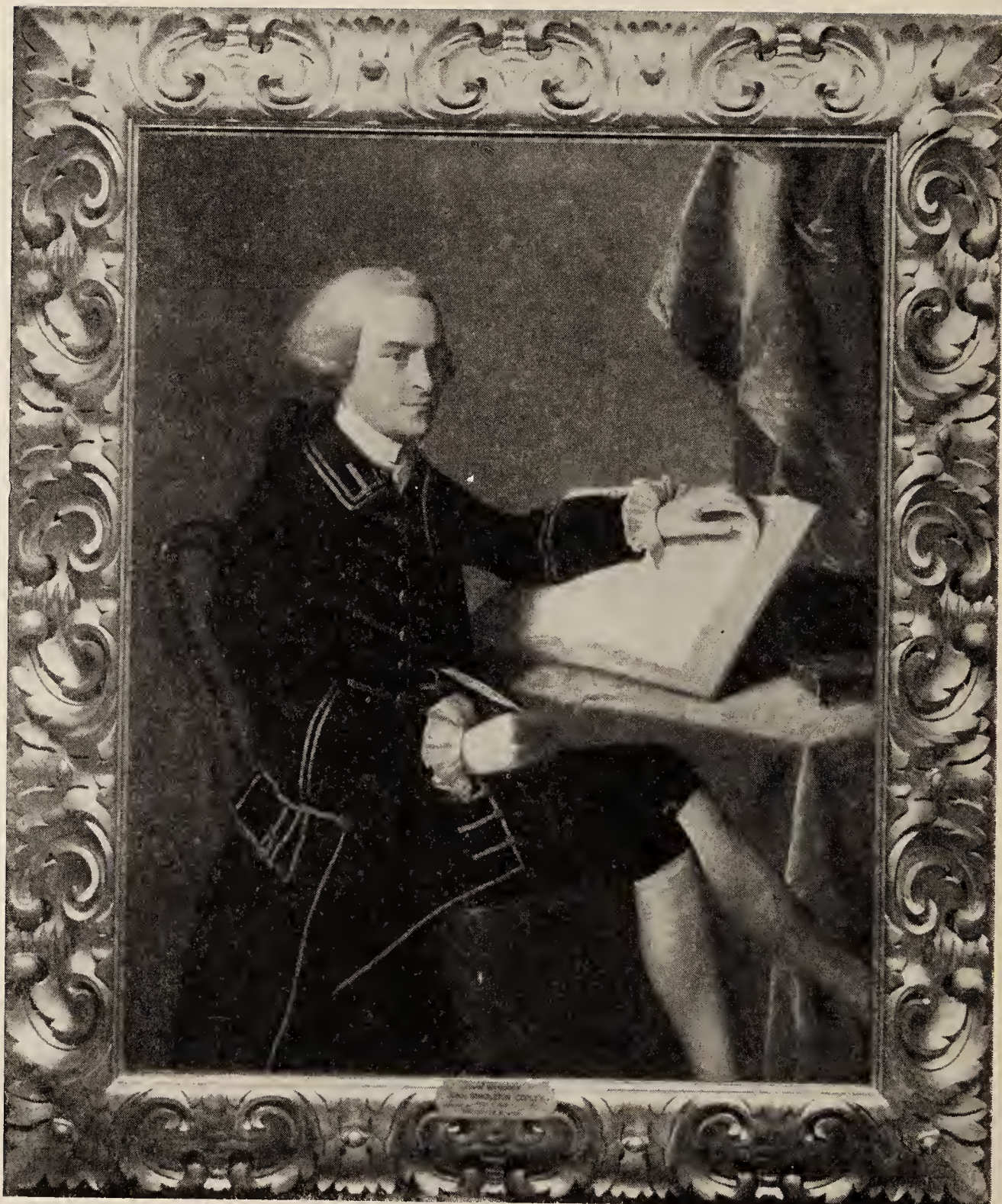
The fourth act gave all the territory between the Lakes, the Ohio and the Mississippi to Quebec province. This fourth act also gave special and specific rights and privileges to Roman Catholics in Quebec.

Bad as all these were—anathema all of them—the fifth act was even more hateful. It was the Boston Port Bill; it closed the port of Boston tightly and transferred the seat of provincial government from Boston to Salem. Before the port could be opened again, not only must the British East India Company be paid for its property destroyed but the King was to declare himself “satisfied” that Boston had learned its lesson and that peace and order were permanently restored.

The news of the Five Acts arrived while John Hancock and other patriots were busy organizing themselves for the struggle which they anticipated. They organized companies of minute men out of the old militia, formed plans for a Congress of all the Colonies and, as Franklin had lost control of the post office, they established a private system of posts which proved most valuable. Boston was stunned by the news and then aroused to the greatest pitch of anger the province had yet experienced. Appealing to God and the world against the injustice of the Crown, messages were sent to all the other Colonies asking them to work for the repeal of the acts by making new boycotting agreements against English merchants. The other colonies responded magnificently to Boston’s distress. Connecticut suggested a general congress to take action. Virginia’s House of Burgesses did likewise and was dissolved for its action.

Meanwhile, on May 17, General Gage finally arrived to replace Hutchinson and, so great was the preoccupation of the Province, that he was scarcely greeted at all and no public welcome was afforded him. The Boston Port Bill was ordered effective June 1st and the first instant Boston realized that Gage was really Governor was the signal for a deluge of protests being poured down upon him. He was firm, however, and, at noon on June 1st, Boston was closed. Contrary to expectation, Boston did not riot. The folks treated the day as a mournful one, tolled the church bells and fasted and prayed. Regiments of soldiers soon came from England, as well as from Halifax, New York, and Quebec. Most of them were encamped on the Common but the 59th Regiment was dispatched to Salem.

The regular June session of the General Court opened in Salem and fell immediately into difficulty with Gage by sending him an address which he found to be “an insult upon His Majesty and the Lords of the Privy Council, and an affront to myself.” Cheered by this reply of Governor Gage’s, the General Court, with that duty removed from their shoulders, went to work to consider the proposal for a general congress and, while the provincial secretary was hammering upon their locked doors, appointed John and Samuel



John Hancock

(Copy of Copley Portrait in Boston Museum of Fine Arts)

Adams, James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine delegates, appropriated five hundred pounds for their expenses to Philadelphia and closed with proposing the adoption of new non-importation and non-consumption agreements. This accomplished—the provincial secretary was ordered admitted but the gentleman had decided not to wait and had delivered his message upon the stairs and departed. This message, the Court learned, was a proclamation from Governor Gage ordering their dissolution. Thus, in open defiance of Parliament, Crown and the British Army, ended the last provincial assembly of Massachusetts.

The summer heat was matched by the rising wrath of the citizens throughout the commonwealth; each day brought news to Boston of the rapidly growing tension. Governor Gage, on the one hand, was determined and active in the execution of his orders—as a military officer very properly should be. He issued proclamations against treason and sedition, concentrated six regiments in Boston, fortified the Neck, raided and seized stores of arms and ammunition, patriots had gathered at Charlestown and Cambridge, and, in every way displayed his readiness to follow out a policy of force. On the other hand, the colonists were not idle. Everywhere, beyond the reach of British bayonets, the country was actively preparing to match force with force. The “Minute Men” companies marched and drilled upon every village green. Arms and ammunition were gathered and stored in readiness and town meeting after town meeting, despite the ban of the Crown, was held to agitate the spirit of resistance. Two incidents during the summer displayed the anger of the people. When Gage seized the military stores of the patriots at Charlestown and Cambridge, alarm bells summoned large numbers of minute men who, arms in hand, were restrained from attacking the raiding parties only because the British officers kept their squads in hand and did not allow the regulars to answer the taunts and threats of the patriots. Again, a little later, word spread about the Province that the British war ships in Boston harbor were shelling the town. In a day, more than thirty thousand minute men were under arms and marching to the relief of Boston in a dozen columns from various points. And they marched on until they were convinced by their own eyes that the report of shelling was false.

Boston itself was ground under the military heel and further torn by self quarrels between patriots and Tories. The town, being the only community held in force by the British Army, naturally was a magnet for all the Tories of the province and the already large native Tory element was rapidly increased in numbers and influence

by Tory families from all parts of the province coming to town for protection against the spirit of their more patriotic country towns. However, although thus bolstered in numbers, the Tories of Boston were small numerically and they were constantly annoyed, threatened and vexed in minor ways by the swarming patriots. The patriots of Boston, as a class, save for such leaders as the Adamses, Hancock, Otis, the Quincys and Warren, were not the upper strata of society for, in 1774, as ever, wealth and position served as strong bonds of attachment to the *status quo*. Only folks who had nothing to lose, could dare to rebel. And that is precisely what the situation in Massachusetts in 1774 was. The patriots, who through such men as Samuel Adams, had long been preaching separation from England, did not dare to put their opinions to the test of arms until, by means of the Committees of Correspondence, they had added to their strength a union of all the colonies. As soon as that could be accomplished, then, what with Britain being busy in Europe, America would have a chance of fighting successfully against England. Had England followed Burke's parliamentary plea for moderation and conciliation in 1774, then, probably, the Revolution would not have taken place and the United States would, possibly, be a dominion of the British Empire today, such as Canada. But, the Five Acts gave the Boston patriots the ammunition they needed for the inflammation of the whole of the colonies and with concrete examples of the injustice of the Crown's attitude to America, Boston took its case to the other twelve colonies and, with political astuteness, persuaded the entire sea-board from Maine to Georgia to risk resistance. Franklin expressed the situation with his characteristic dictum: "We must all hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

With September, summer heat ripened into autumnal action; in the province, a convention of Suffolk County folk was held at Milton; in the (soon-to-be) nation, the general convention met at Philadelphia.

The Suffolk meeting passed a series of nineteen resolves which included spirited and rebellious statements directed not so much against the Crown as against Parliament. These resolves held that the province could not be required to obey any of the recent Acts of Parliament; that the recently appointed judges (chosen by the Crown) should not be obeyed nor should juries sit under them; that tax collectors should withhold funds in their hands from the provincial and county treasurers; that all the Crown-appointed councilors, if they did not resign before September 20, should be considered "obstinate and incorrigible enemies of this Colony"; that military instruction and weekly musters of militia companies was advisable; that non-

intercourse with Britain was to be followed and, finally, a provincial congress was deemed a necessity and a place and time suggested—Concord on the second Tuesday in October.

These Suffolk Resolves were a long and eloquent impeachment of the “parricide who points the dagger to our bosoms.” Believed to have been written by Dr. Joseph Warren, their preamble displays their excellence: “Whereas the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom, of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity; and whereas, this then savage and uncultivated desert was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valour of those our venerable progenitors, who bequeathed to us the dear-bought inheritance, who consigned it to our care and protection,—the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring.”

The Continental Congress, meeting at Philadelphia, sat for fifty-two anxious days, anxious because they were urged by Boston and Virginia to rebellion and, while the need was apparent, the shadow of the gallows as punishment for treason, lay heavily across their minds. Finally, they prepared a declaration of rights, a petition to the King, a memorial to the people of England and an address to the Canadians. In reply to the Suffolk Resolves, the Congress expressed sympathy, approved the Province’s conduct and encouraged perseverance in resistance. A letter was also sent to Governor Gage, enclosing copies of the various resolves of the Congress, remonstrating with him against his arbitrary military dominion and entreating him to act with moderation and kindness.

Back in the Province, Gage called for a session of the Court to meet at Salem in October only shortly to countermand his order. However, the elections were held and the representatives duly assembled on the 11th of October. No one appearing to swear them into office, the Court proceeded to institute itself, elected Hancock president, and not as a provincial General Court but as a Provincial Congress, adjourned to Concord in accordance with the Suffolk Resolves. There they drew up a resolve which declared that unless Gage discontinued his fortification of Boston, the people of the Province would rebel, they adjourned once more to Cambridge where they sat down to wait for Gage’s reply. The Governor answered that the fortifications were necessary and ordered the Congress to desist from their illegal proceedings. Defying threats of punishment, the Congress resumed

its session under Gage's very nose and sat through November. During this session they busily prepared for the conflict which was now seen by everyone to be inevitable. A Committee of Safety, with Hancock as chairman, was appointed and given power to call out the militia; the militia companies were authorized to elect their own officers under Ward and Pomeroy, Indian fighters, who were commissioned generals; military stores were ordered gathered and twenty thousand pounds was appropriated to pay for them; tax collectors were ordered to pay their collections to a newly appointed patriot treasurer—in short, everything was done to prepare for armed resistance as soon as the course of events should precipitate action.

Temporarily adjourning late in November, to meet again in January, the Congress went home to await the crisis—which was soon to come in the bloody year of 1775.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Bloody Year—1775

The turbulent year of 1775 opened with ominous calm. Gage held Boston with a garrison of thirty-five hundred men and was confident that the rebellion of Massachusetts would come to nothing. Indeed, he wrote to London on January 17th that the situation was settling down rapidly— “. . . if a respectable force is seen in the field, the most obnoxious of the leaders seized, and a pardon proclaimed for all others, government will come off victorious, and with less opposition than was expected a few months ago.”

The soldiers, sailors and marines of the garrison found the winter very enjoyable. Food and drink were abundant and cheap and, at least for the officers, plenty of society was provided by the young women of the Loyalist families, who had fled into the city from the other towns for safety. The season was one of great gaiety. Parties, balls and entertainments were numerous and the patriots were held in ridicule. One officer wrote home, “As to what you hear of the men of Massachusetts taking arms to resist the force of England, it is mere bullying, and will go no further than words. Whenever it comes to blows, he that can run the fastest will think himself best off. Believe me, any two regiments here ought to be decimated if they do not beat, in the field, the whole force of Massachusetts Province; for though they are numerous, they are but a mob, without order or discipline, and very awkward at handling their arms.”

Perhaps this military opinion was justified, for the patriot leaders, with a wisdom which is astonishing, deliberately sought to avoid bringing matters to an immediate crisis. This was the course decided upon for several reasons; first, the patriot army was neither armed nor organized sufficiently to face properly the trained British regiments and, though preparations were being vigorously pushed, time was necessary to accomplish the job of putting an army into the field; and, second, if an actual war was to be entered upon, the sympathy and support of the other Colonies was clearly vital and this sympathy could only be made certain by allowing the Commonwealth to suffer still further the injustices of the Crown until

resistance could be made in such a manner that it was crystal clear to everyone that the provocation was such that no other course was possible. Thus, while diligently preparing men and resources for the inevitable struggle, the patriots of Boston determined to submit to all indignities and insults and injury without retaliation until the time was ripe for successful reaction. In short, it was the policy of Hancock, the Adamses and the rest to let the Crown force war upon the Commonwealth and thus put the patriot cause in the defensive position—for they knew then, as now, that the under dog is certain of sympathy and support.

In Gage, the patriots had a man upon whom they could depend to accomplish this objective and he lost no time in acting as they desired. His first move with armed force was on January 23 when, in response to a plea of loyalists of the town of Marshfield, he sent down an expedition of a hundred men to give them "protection" from threatening patriots, who did not like the sentiments the loyalists expressed. Although the expedition did nothing but eat and sleep in Marshfield, their presence was so resented by other towns of the neighborhood that Gage hastily recalled the force to prevent disorder.

Gage's next move came on February 26th when he sent a company to Salem by water to seize a few brass cannon known to be gathered there by the patriots. Under Colonel Leslie, the troops embarked early Sunday morning and landed in Salem while everyone was at church and marched into town towards the North Bridge. At the bridge, however, they found their progress halted by a vigilant patriot hoisting the draw in the bridge and refusing to lower it again, on the ground that the bridge ". . . is a private way, and you have no authority to pass over it." Thus halted in their progress to the place where the cannon were stored, the British sought to seize boats but the patriots scuttled their own craft before the Colonel's men could reach them. By this time the good folk of Salem had poured out of meeting and ringed in the detachment.

An ugly situation was rapidly developing but the Salem minister, Mr. Barnard, intervened and offered Colonel Leslie a straw by which the British honor could be preserved. With Leslie pledging not to advance more than thirty rods beyond the bridge, the draw was lowered and bloodshed averted.

Once across, the brave Colonel, as the poet Trumbull wrote,

"Without loss of time or men,
Veered round for Boston back again,
And found so well their projects thrive,
That every soul got home alive."



CONCORD BRIDGE

Meanwhile, in Parliament, the Boston situation was warmly debated. Not only did Franklin and Boston's Josiah Quincy do everything in their power to cause a more temperate course being taken by the ministry but manufacturers and merchants of several great English cities petitioned for recognition of colonial rights. But the ministry was determined to break Boston's resistance and insisted that the Crown would pour out all its manpower and treasure to punish the Yankee Commonwealth. Parliament, by three to one, supported the ministry and conciliation was forever outlawed.

Back home, in February, the new Provincial Congress met at Cambridge and at Concord, chose delegates to the forthcoming Continental Congress, and took steps to organize, equip and finance the provincial troops. However, despite hot-headed speeches for open violence, the assembly, well aware that a single premature step might ruin the future of the commonwealth, adopted and continued the policy of watchful waiting. No insult was too great to be borne. Warren might be hissed by loyalists as he delivered the annual Massacre Oration; Ditson, a patriot of Billerica, might be tarred and feathered and drawn through the streets by soldiers of the 47th Regiment, playing *Yankee Doodle* in derision; Hancock's property might be destroyed by loyalists flushed with liquor; military music might make divine services unpleasant,—any persecution might, and did, come, but the policy of watchful waiting must be maintained, for the patriots knew that, sooner or later, Gage would force bloodshed and then they could retaliate with the sympathy of the world behind them.

And meanwhile there was much to do in getting ready for the coming struggle. An intelligence system was organized to watch British plans. Gunpowder was secretly manufactured and stored. Arms were gathered and made ready and companies of minute men were drilled and held ready to fight when the minute arrived.

APRIL 19TH

It was not long in coming. Gage, who now had four thousand veteran troops, ably officered, in Boston, was informed that the patriots had a large arsenal established at Concord. Shortly, the patriots were informed that Gage was planning to make a surprise raid to seize these stores. Accordingly, a system was organized by the patriots to watch the three roads out of Boston to Concord so that no raid could be launched without warning being flashed to the countryside. The Committee of Safety, the patriot executive body,

also ordered the cannon secreted and a portion of the powder removed to Sudbury and Groton. This order was given on April 17th.

Gage must have learned of the order for he, the following day, prepared to launch his raid so as to seize the stores before they could be moved. His first step was to send out patrols along the roads leading to Concord with orders to intercept any messengers from Boston that the patriots might send out. Next he ordered that no one should leave Boston.



PAUL REVERE HOUSE, BOSTON

Courtesy of Boston Chamber of Commerce

But his plans went awry. The Committee of Safety itself was the first to learn of the impending raid. They met the night of the 18th in West Cambridge. Two of them, Devons and Watson, riding home to Charlestown, met a British patrol and, suspecting what was afoot, returned to West Cambridge, where they told Gerry, Orne and Lee, three other members still in session, what they had learned. A messenger was at once despatched to Lexington, where Hancock and Adams, the two outstanding patriots, were staying as the guests of the Rev. Mr. Clarke. The committee feared that the arrest of the two patriots would be accomplished if the raiding party could find them.

Meanwhile, in Boston, eight hundred troops, under the command

of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, were sent across the Mystic by boats, landed in Charlestown and, through the darkness, started for Concord.

But the movement of the troops was not unnoticed and the flash of a lantern from the belfry of the North Church, started two riders, by different routes, at midnight to arouse the country. The two, directed by Dr. Warren, had been stationed outside the town before Gage's order closing the roads was enforced and they got away safely. They were William Dawes and Paul Revere. Since the latter was fortunate in having a poetical name, he has been immortalized by Longfellow's poem, but the ride of William Dawes was even more successful than Revere's for Revere failed to reach Concord, being stopped by one of the British patrols between Lexington and Concord.

However, thanks to Dawes and Revere, and the messenger of the Committee of Safety, whose name is unknown, Middlesex County was aroused and the word soon spread throughout the adjacent territory. At once the minute men, leaving their homes and loved ones, hastened towards Concord.

By two in the morning, on Lexington Green, one hundred and thirty armed minute men were assembled and, after roll call, dismissed to the surrounding houses, as the night was very raw. Most of them repaired to nearby Buckman's Tavern. Concord also made ready for what the dawn would bring.

By the time Colonel Smith's column had passed out of Cambridge, the ringing of bells and the lighted windows of every home told him that the news was out and that all hope of surprise was gone. Accordingly, he ordered Major Pitcairn, with six companies, to ride ahead to Concord and seize the bridges over the Concord River there to prevent patriots from flocking into Concord from beyond. A messenger was also sent back to Boston for reinforcements.

Pitcairn hurried on, but before he entered the town of Lexington, one Thaddeus Bowman, seeing the approaching party, galloped into the town and sounded the alarm. It was four-thirty. Captain Parker, ordered the minute men into two ranks just to the north of the Meeting House and waited for Pitcairn.

He came. Ordering his men to "prime and load" he charged the silent minute men, shouting, as he led the advance, "Desperse, ye rebels! Throw down your arms! Villains, desperse."

The first Americans to stand in military formation before British guns did not budge.

"Fire!" shouted Pitcairn and a volley of lead poured into American soldiers. The fire was returned, not only from the lines of minute

men but from various points to the right and left, including the back door of Buckman's Tavern. Against the superior British force, the American militia could not stand and they broke, leaving eight of their members dead and ten wounded—Parker, Muzzy, Monroe, Hadley, Brown, Porter, Caleb Harrington and Jonathan Harrington were the dead. Of the last, Everett's "Concord Address" says, "Harrington's was a cruel fate. He fell in front of his own house on the north side of the Common. His wife, at the window, saw him fall, and then start up, the blood gushing from his breast. He stretched out his hand towards her, as if for assistance, and fell again. Rising once more on his hands and knees, he crawled across the road towards his dwelling. She ran to meet him at the door, but it was to see him expire at her feet."

Meanwhile, in Concord, the patriots were busy. While one party of the militia, under Colonel Barrett, labored at removing the stores to safety, the balance of the minute men were being formed on the parade ground and plans for resistance were discussed. When the word came of the bloodshed at Lexington, a company was immediately dispatched to the aid of Lexington but it returned shortly, having seen the advance of the British column coming down the Lincoln road, their guns flashing in the early April dawn, Colonel Barrett, in command at Concord, believing resistance useless, because of the greater number of the British, ordered a retreat over the North Bridge.

As the minute men left, the British marched in. Colonel Smith formed his headquarters in the center of the town, sent Captain Pole with six light companies to secure the South Bridge and Captain Parsons, with a similar number of men, to hold the North Bridge.

At the North Bridge, Captain Lawrie was ordered to hold the crossing with three companies, while Parsons marched off with the rest to search the nearby home of Colonel Barrett for munitions.

Very soon, the militia of Concord, Bedford, and Lincoln were joined by companies from Carlisle, Acton, Chelmsford, Littleton and Weston. The companies of Captain Smith and Captain Isaac Davis, volunteering to drive the British away from the North Bridge, were ordered to the attack under Major John Buttrick and Colonel Robinson (as an assistant). As the militia drew up, the British guard fired, killing Captain Davis and Private Hosmer. Major Buttrick ordered, "Fire, fellow soldiers! for God's sake, fire!" and the minute men fired into the British ranks, killing several of them and causing the British to retreat, to the main station in the center of the town.

As noon came on, the British column, long superior in numbers,

began to lose this superiority, as every road to Concord saw grim minute men hastening to come to grips "at last" with the British oppressors. Reading, Sudbury and Billerica companies all arrived by noon. Having seized some of the stores and destroyed them, Colonel Smith, well aware of the increasing numbers of the patriots, despite the fact that his men were weary from the long march, ordered a retreat shortly after noon.

Thus began a long and terrible march. Every stone wall, every wayside tree, every building, every spot of cover, sheltered minute men who almost constantly raked the foot-sore column as it toiled along towards Lexington. The day turned hot and the detachment was in sorry plight by the time it staggered into Lexington. There, however, Smith was met by Lord Percy with two field pieces, three regiments of infantry and two divisions of marines, bringing the total number of British concerned from eight hundred to about sixteen hundred.

The guns kept the patriots at a more respectful distance and, after the harassed original eight hundred had recovered their breath, the march was resumed, again under the persistent and deadly fire from the minute men who, every hour, grew stronger and stronger as the afternoon passed, new companies arriving from town after town.

By the time Somerville was reached, the situation of Lord Percy was critical. Hampered by wounded, practically barren of ammunition, and most of the men nearly exhausted, the surrender of the sixteen hundred would probably have come about had a few more miles lay between the column and Boston. But Charlestown is next to Somerville and, on Charlestown Common, the British finally, just at sunset, finished their retreat. The guns of the British fleet commanded the Common and the minute men could do no more.

The day cost the lives of 49 Americans and 73 British. Thirty nine Americans were wounded; 174 British. Five Americans were reported missing; 26 British.

When Samuel Adams heard the sound of guns at Lexington, he exclaimed, "What a glorious morning is this!" It was a fateful morning for America. Blood had flowed in armed conflict. War had come.

THE DRUMMER OF LEXINGTON AND THE BEDFORD FLAG

(By George M. Dimond—Bedford)

Among the stirring events of the Revolution none was more dramatic perhaps than those at its beginning on April 19, 1775, with

Paul Revere speeding to Lexington to warn Hancock and Adams, in hiding there at the home of Reverend Clarke, of the march of the British Grenadiers to Lexington and Concord, bent on the capture of the two patriots and the destruction of the military stores at Concord. Guarding the Clarke home at the time was a youth of twenty whose act in the great drama of the day is sometimes overlooked by historians. This youth was William Dimond, the drummer of the Minute Men. Hearing the alarming news brought by Revere, he hurriedly brought out his drum, ready for orders, and soon was sounding the "long roll," which was the call to arms to the Minute Men and all able-bodied citizens to assemble on the Green. Important action it was. What happened on the Green is well known. One historian has recognized the drummer's act as "the first overt act of the Revolution," and Daniel Webster, at the dedication of Bunker Hill Monument, recalling the story of the drummer of Lexington, who was also at the Battle of Bunker Hill, paid tribute to him declaring: "On William Dimond's drum was freedom born,"—and such evidence certainly entitles him to a place in history along with Paul Revere and Emerson's unknown Minute Man who "fired the shot heard round the world."

The ancient drum was for many years in the custody of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at the State House in Boston, but Lexington's persistent claim to it was recognized finally by the General Court and the Lexington Historical Society in 1903 became its custodian. Among the many historic relics at the Hancock-Clarke house it is an object of great interest to visitors, numbering thousands every year.

The young drummer was born in Boston in 1755 and as a boy learned the art of drumming from one of General Gage's British soldiers. Moving, with his family, to Lexington just before the Revolution, he became the drummer of the Minute Men there and so figured in the first act of the Revolution, being in line in Captain Parker's company when fired upon by the British soldiers. After the attack on the Green he threw his drum behind a stone wall, seized a gun and some ammunition and set out for Concord, reaching the town before the British. There he joined the assembled Minute Men and farmers and took part in the Concord fight. Twenty years later he moved to Peterborough, New Hampshire, where he died at the age of 73. His grave there is marked by a plain slate stone on which, below his name and date of death, is this simple inscription: "A Revolutionary soldier; drummer at Lexington and Bunker Hill."

In the neighboring town of Bedford, whose militia and Minute

Men were early at Concord on April 19th, is one of the most prized relics of the Revolution, the Bedford flag. This is the only known flag in existence that figured at the Concord fight. It was carried to Concord at the head of 70 Bedford men by Cornet Nathaniel Page, and after the fight was brought back to Bedford, and hung in the Page home living room. More than a hundred years later it was presented to the Town of Bedford by a descendant of the Revolutionary flag bearer. It is preserved in a steel fire-proof safe in Bedford Town Hall and is visited by hundreds of visitors every year. Of its historical standing, William S. Appleton, one-time president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, said: "In my opinion, this flag exceeds in historic value the famed flag of Eutaw and Pulaski and in fact is the most precious memorial of the kind of which we have knowledge." There can be no reason to doubt that it was the origin of Emerson's famed poem, whose first verse runs:

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled.
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard 'round the world."

And Allen French, the Concord historian, writing of the flag says: "Its sign, an arm bearing a sword," is "perhaps the origin of the crest of Massachusetts."

BUNKER HILL

The reaction of Lexington and Concord was tremendous. In the commonwealth, a hasty meeting of the Massachusetts Congress authorized the enlistment of an army of thirteen thousand six hundred men. The recruiting was pushed with dispatch so that, within two months, twenty two regiments were completely organized and two others were partly formed—a total of more than eleven thousand men. Major General Ward was given the generalship. Thomas was made a lieutenant-general and Colonel Gridley, an old engineer officer, was charged with the responsibility of raising and equipping an artillery regiment. Dr. Warren, Prescott and Learned were made colonels.

Requests were sent to the other New England colonies for aid. Rhode Island replied by voting to raise fifteen hundred men under Nathaniel Greene. Connecticut voted six thousand men under General Joseph Spencer. New Hampshire voted two thousand men under Generals Folsom, Stark and Reed.

The army, thus hastily assembled, was not an admirable body as far as organization went. It lacked resources in food and munitions and its members, although all perfectly trained marksmen, were very poorly drilled. Even more important was the fact that there was no single commanding officer. General Ward had merely authority over Massachusetts' men; the regiments from the other colonies would take orders only from their own generals. As a matter of practice, Ward acted as commander-in-chief but only because of the courtesy of the other generals. This position was unavoidable in that only the forthcoming Continental Congress could appoint an officer to supersede the several state generals and, although Washington was to be selected, for the time the Massachusetts war had to be conducted as well as possible under a loose military leadership. This fact has not only made the task of the historian very difficult but also made the patriot military force less effective than it could have been. In fact, from the present viewpoint, it is very difficult to understand why Gage, who had a constantly increasing force of the finest troops of the world at his orders, sat in Boston instead of sallying out and scattering the divided rebels.

Gage and his officers considered the patriot army a mere rabble and talked about how easily they could be scattered—but Gage only sat and talked. Of course, it must be remembered that, although the patriots lacked discipline and supplies, they were not unseasoned. Today such a gathering of Massachusetts men could be wiped out in a day by a single regular army regiment. But in 1775 the men were different creatures. They were taught to shoot as a matter of course, and military drill was compulsory for every able bodied citizen. Thus, while the 1775 army could not readily attack Gage, it seems that they could put up a very stubborn and effective defensive battle. This seems even more certain when it is remembered that the patriot officers were experienced soldiers. General Ward, of Shrewsbury, had served as a colonel with Abercrombie in the expedition to Canada. General Thomas of Kingston and General Putnam of Pomfret had both served as officers in the French War. General Folsom of New Hampshire served in 1755 as well. Among other leading officers who had smelled powder were Colonel Prescott of Pepperell, Stark, Spencer, Pomeroy, Nixon and Gridley. And many of the privates had also seen service. So, lacking in discipline though they were, the patriot army was ably officered and far from being "green."

The excitement which agitated New England was shared throughout America; Boston's leaders had justified their passive course in

the indignation with which the news of Lexington and Concord was greeted. An express sent southward passed through each Colony down to South Carolina and everywhere war was recognized as inevitable and preparations begun. Most encouraging to Boston was the supplementing of the cry "To arms!" by the maxims, "Unite and be invincible!", "Unite or perish!" The blood of April 19th served its purpose. An America was created.

Within a very few days after the 19th, the standing minute men began to besiege Boston and before long the city was ringed about by several thousand men. This caused great alarm about the city for noncombatants feared for their persons. Charlestown in particular seemed fated to lie in the path of the struggle and a general exodus began which reduced the population of that town from three thousand to less than two hundred. By a mutual agreement Gage permitted Bostonians who wished to leave the city to do so and the patriot army permitted Tories in the country, who elected to seek the protection of British guns, to enter Boston. Thousands of folks availed themselves of this agreement and the roads for weeks were crowded with parties traveling in opposite directions.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts Congress was greatly disturbed over the legal questions the rebellion had raised. Had the Congress authority to govern the province? To obtain a show of it, a resolve was passed authorizing an application to the Continental Congress "for this Colony to take up and exercise civil government as soon as may be." And, when this was voted, the Massachusetts body set about organizing a post office and courts. However, the rebellion is singular in that very little of the established order was upset, save for military activities. Massachusetts simply severed the legal tie which bound the Commonwealth to the Crown and proceeded under the same laws and systems of administration as before. The officers were elected from and by the people in place of Crown appointees and the British abuses were corrected. Otherwise the General Court continued as before. Too much praise cannot be given the leaders for this wise prudence. In the midst of impending conflict, with the might of Britain threatening like a thundercloud at the zenith, they calmly arranged their government so as to conserve all the values they knew for the protection of themselves and the freedom of their posterity.

And not only were the folk of Massachusetts thus level-headed, but they were astoundingly courageous. Here was the province of Massachusetts, numbering less in population and wealth than a small city of today—the Commonwealth in 1775 had less than 350,000 souls—daring the might of Britain, a vast Empire with a strong army

and a mighty naval force. Certainly, the odds were against the Commonwealth.

May was spent by Ward in throwing up the first of a chain of fortifications which would eventually, according to plan, encircle Boston and starve Gage out. The first fort was probably built in Cambridge and the second somewhere in Roxbury overlooking Boston Neck.

Gage very soon began to find his food supply curtailed and, accordingly, he organized raiding parties to visit the several islands of the harbor, which, at that time, were stocked with cattle, and to such of the adjacent towns as could be surprised. Several of these raids resulted in skirmishes, one of the better known being that of Chelsea creek, between Revere and East Boston (Noddle's Island) in which the British lost a small ship and a number of horses.

On May 10th, the Continental Congress met in Philadelphia and the Massachusetts delegates at once urged action for the relief of Boston. John Adams in particular, advised strong action and suggested that the patriot army in Cambridge be made a Continental Army under the command of officers appointed by the Continental Congress and the army to be supported by the same Congress. However, many of the delegates from other colonies, particularly the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the delegates from South Carolina, were hesitant of taking such a bold step and advised delay. Debate was hot, as the New England delegates spoke their minds freely at the vanity of bothering with voted petitions to the Crown and the British people. Finally, on June 14th, the first success attended the efforts of Adams and his fellows: resolutions were passed advising all the colonies to collect munitions and ten companies of riflemen were ordered raised in the central colonies and dispatched for service near Boston. And then, on the 14th, a most momentous step was taken when George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces of America. John Hancock of Boston, president of the Congress, is alleged to have had ambitions for the office. But, fortunately he was not chosen, because if he had been selected, it is at least doubtful if the South would have joined as enthusiastically in the war as it did. Washington was well known and a man of recognized ability so that he was an ideal selection. To salve New England's feelings, General Ward of Massachusetts was given the second command and Lee was made third.

While these things were being determined in Philadelphia, the Fates were busy in Boston. On June 12, Gage, finding rations growing short and his enemies continually increasing in strength and "imperti-

John Hancock
Sam^l Adams Chas. Livingston
Rob^t Treat Paine W^m Lloyd
John Adams Fran^c Lewis
Elbridge Gerry
Josiah Bartlett Rich^d Stockton
Sam^l Huntington
Step^h Hopkins John Hart
Abra Clark Lewis Morris
John Morton
Matthew Thornton
Roger Sherman John Penn
W^m Whipple Jas^o Witherspoon
William Ellery W^m Hooper
Oliver Wolcott Rob^t Morris

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Ben^l Franklin ^{W^m} Williams
Tras^r Hopkinson ^{W^m} Paca
Charles Carroll of Carrollton
Thos Stone

Th Jefferson Geo Taylor.
Edward Rutledge Joseph Hewes
Jas Smith Geo Ross
Geo Clymer Thos M. Kear
Bullon Gwinnett Geo Read
James Wilson
Thomas Lynch Jun^r
Samuel Chase George Wythe
Benjamin Rush Lyman Hall.
Richard Henry Lee
Arthur Middleton Thos Nelson^r.
Casar Rodney Carter Braxton
M^y Harrison Geo Walton.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Thos M^yward Jun^r.

nence" started to become active once more. He issued a proclamation declaring martial law to be in force and offering a free pardon to all who would lay down their arms at once, "excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offenses are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."

By the time this proclamation was published, Gage found himself with more reinforcements under Generals Clinton, Howe and Burgoyne, which gave him a force of probably ten thousand veterans. All along, he had been advised to seize the heights in Charlestown as a danger point from which the "rebels could easily force the evacuation of the town." For some reason he neglected this step until the coming of Clinton and the rest made it seem advisable. As he was making his plans, the Massachusetts Army was acquainted with the fact and, accordingly, they determined to fortify Charlestown first.

June saw the Continental Army disposed as follows: the right wing was stationed in Roxbury, the left in Medford, Chelsea and Charlestown Neck. The center held Cambridge. Forts were being built all along the heights with Dorchester and Charlestown being left until the last as the two which would complete the chain and force British attack or defeat.

On Friday, June 16th, General Ward ordered Colonel Prescott and the officers of Frye's and Bridges' regiments with Thomas Knowlton and 200 Connecticut troops to proceed to Charlestown and fortify Bunker Hill under the direction of Colonel Richard Gridley. In all, 1,200 men were concerned. After prayer on Cambridge Common, Friday night, the party marched away. At Charlestown Neck they halted, were joined by Colonel Putnam and other officers, and marched to Bunker Hill.

Here Ward's orders were questioned. Bunker Hill, although the best hill for the fort, was considered to be too far from the harbor to be of value and, so—such was the discipline of the army—Breed's Hill was selected. This second hill is much nearer to Boston and directly overlooks the harbor although it was not as easily defensible then as Bunker Hill would have been.

In the midnight darkness, Gridley drew his plans, marked out the measurements and the entrenchment was begun. Before dawn, a redoubt, six feet high and eight rods square was completed which, in the form of a redan, faced the town of Boston, looked down upon the anchored British fleet and challenged Gage's might. To the east was a great field and, running down the north side of the hill was a flanking breastwork. The astonished British sought to stop further

work by a bombardment from the ships and showered the hill top with metal. Undaunted, the patriots continued their digging, encouraged by Prescott who, mounting the parapet, walked about, overlooking the toiling soldiers and encouraging them with jests while iron flew past his head and about his body.

As the day advanced, the weary men found their water and provisions exhausted and Colonel Prescott was advised to send for relief but Prescott refused the suggestion holding that the men who had labored to build the fort were entitled to the honor of defending it.

Gage could not, of course, permit the fort to be strengthened and ordered an attack from the front, although his council advised that the fort be taken from the rear and thus the entire patriot body, with their retreat cut off, captured. Gage, however was unwilling to place his force between Breed's Hill and the main American Army in Cambridge—as would have been necessary.

Prescott saw the preparations for attack across the harbor with joy and announced, "Now, boys, we shall have a fight; and we shall beat them, too." However, recognizing that his men were worn out, hungry and thirsty, he finally determined to send to Ward for supplies and reenforcement and sent Major Brooks to Cambridge to obtain them. Ward, however, fearing that Gage might merely make a feint at Charlestown as a cover for a general attack upon Cambridge, refused to weaken his force by sending men to Prescott. However, the Committee of Safety was in session at Cambridge at the time and the Committee, urged by Richard Devens of Charlestown, prevailed upon Ward to send Stark and Reed and their regiments with *fifteen* charges of loose powder and balls only to join Prescott. This brought the American force to about twenty three hundred, the larger number of whom had been working all night. The only American artillery was two small field pieces.

At noon, the British fleet laying down a barrage to close off the American position, Gage started to ferry his men across the harbor. To the thousands of spectators in Boston, who blackened Copp's Hill, the bright June sun must have glittered brightly upon the dancing water, the scarlet British uniforms, the dipping oars and the polished steel of British bayonets.

By one o'clock the British landed at Moulton's point, below the fort and were formed into three lines. However, as it was found that the cartridges for the artillery were of the wrong size and as General Howe, in command, discovered also that the American position was much stronger than it had seemed from across the harbor, the troops

were ordered out of formation and ordered to eat dinner while requests for reinforcements and proper cartridges were sent to Boston.

During the first part of the afternoon, the British reinforcements arrived and the attack was arranged. The American troops were posted as well as their number and the ground permitted. The original detachment, commanded by Colonel Prescott, with General Warren as a volunteer, held the redoubt and the breastworks. As Ward began sending more support finally, they were stationed on Charlestown Neck and in the streets of the town behind a breastwork of fences and hastily gathered brushwood and stones two hundred yards to the rear of the fort. Other regiments, including those from New Hampshire and Connecticut, were formed to the right and left of the inadequate breastworks.

The British, not less than three thousand strong by now, led by General Howe and such veteran officers as Abercrombie, Butler, Clarke, Buce, Lords Percy and Rawdon, Pigot, Nesbit, Pitcairn, Short, Small and others distinguished for bravery and merit, moved into action about three o'clock. In two divisions—one under General Pigot, straight up the hill to storm the fort—the other under General Howe, over towards the breastworks,—the troops fired volley after volley as they came, halting to fire after the precise tactics of the time, reloading and then marching to another halt and so on up the hill.

The Americans were short of powder and Prescott's immortal order, "Wait until you see the white of their eyes; then fire low; take aim at their waistbands!" was implicitly followed. Pigot marched to within eight rods and then, from the fort came a volley of lead which mowed the British down in numbers. Standing firm, the red coats replied but the second American volley was too much for them and Pigot ordered a retreat.

Howe, meanwhile, had suffered the same experience along the breastworks as he sought to hurdle the line and get behind the fort. His men, brave as they were, could not withstand the American volleys, followed by deliberate shooting at will by which the Americans, experienced sharpshooters, picked off a man with every ball. Shortly, all the red coats were back at the bottom, from whence they had started—less those flat upon the ground. Prescott had repulsed the first charge but he knew a second would be made and he sent for more reinforcements. The regiments Ward had sent, too late, were discovered, by Putnam, to be halted at the Neck, stopped by the wall of steel which the British fleet maintained across the narrow strip of ground. Putnam sought in vain to encourage the regiments to dare

the crossing; beating his frenzied horse with the flat of his sword, again and again, he rode through the barrage, but he could persuade only a few brave souls to follow him.

Howe ordered a second attack but, as it started, to frighten the Americans, he set fire to the town of Charlestown. Great billows of black smoke arose, lurid tongues of flames flickered, like lightning, from earth to sky, British cannon boomed, balls screamed through the air, men screamed and died, men laughed and lived—Boston beheld the only battle it has ever witnessed.

The British marched slowly up the hill as before; knapsacks fastened to their backs, eyes straight ahead. They might have been on parade, save that their measured step was broken now and then as they stepped over the bodies of their comrades who had fallen in the first assault and lay sprawled in the tall, fragrant grass, staring with eyes that would never close at the June sun.

This time, the Americans, seasoned by their first success, held their fire until the parade of red-coats was within six rods. Then at a single volley, according to survivors' accounts, officers and men in scarlet fell in swathes, whole ranks collapsed as pins in a bowling alley. General Howe was in the van and, untouched although two of his aides fell beside him, he urged his men to stand firm, to fire and then charge over the earthen barrier with their bayonets. But the British veterans could not obey; they wavered, milled about and then fled in confusion down hill. Dead were piled just below the American fort deep enough to make a second wall of defense.

Great was the delight of the patriots at this second repulse. They considered that they had won the day and members of the regiments stationed behind the wall beyond the fort actually began to drift off back to Cambridge for refreshment. Shortly, however, it became apparent to Prescott that Howe was preparing for a third assault. He at once sent Putnam, who was still mounted, to Cambridge to plead with Ward for reenforcements and for ammunition. Most of Prescott's men had but a single charge of powder remaining; no man had more than three. They were without water and food and they were practically exhausted, what with their night's labor and their day's fighting. But Ward could not send the needed assistance; confusion prevailed at headquarters in Cambridge and, although Putnam managed to gather a few companies himself and start back to Charlestown, they apparently did not arrive in sufficient force to do more than aid in covering the retreat.

General Howe's determination to make a third charge was met with objections from his officers, who feared their men might rebel

against a third butchery. But Howe was firm. He himself led the column towards the breastworks, while Clinton and Pigot started for the redoubt. The British artillery, for the first time, now became so effective that the breastworks were raked and the defenders forced to abandon the ground they had so courageously held. This retreat turned the tide. Prescott could now be attacked from both sides as well as from the front and his position was clearly hopeless, since he could not hold out without powder and reinforcements.

However, he did not order the retreat he might well have been expected to do; he marched about above his men, encouraging them and giving his order not to fire their single remaining volley until the British were within a few yards, so that not a shot would be wasted.

Taught by experience, the British shed their heavy knapsacks and advanced cautiously, many of them being driven upwards by the swords of their officers. In silence, they climbed slowly upwards, opening fanwise to cover the redoubt. In grim watchfulness, the Americans waited and, at Prescott's signal, poured out their final volley. It created a fearful slaughter and the British wavered, stopping short in their stride. Had Prescott been able to fire a second volley, the day would have been won. But he could not. Holding their muskets reversed, as clubs, the Americans waited for the assault. Clinton, in front of the redoubt, gave the order to go forward and the red-coats swarmed over the top.

The day was lost, clubs and fists could not match British weapons, and Prescott ordered the retreat. The Americans drew off, slowly, fighting as they went. Prescott escaped unharmed, although his clothing was torn by bullets in several places. Dr. Warren was not so fortunate. As he left the blood-soaked redoubt, a ball pierced his head.

At the rail-fence breastworks, behind the redoubt, a few reinforcements had been gathered but, after a desperate resistance, they too went back with Prescott's exhausted men. Putnam, arriving with his Connecticut troops, threw himself before the British van to cover the retreat and so saved the Massachusetts men from capture.

When the retreat reached Bunker Hill, Putnam essayed to make a stand. "We can stop them yet," he exclaimed, "In God's name, form, and give them one shot more." Troops rallied about him but the British fire swept over the hill and killed so many Americans that the halt was clearly impossible—without the earthworks that should have been previously prepared—and the retreat continued down and across the Neck where the men were exposed to the barrage from the British fleet.

It was now five in the afternoon. General Howe ordered Clinton to follow up the retreat by a direct attack upon headquarters at Cambridge. Had Clinton followed orders, the future course of the siege of Boston might have been vastly different. But Clinton found his men too weary and, fearing a counter-attack, was content to dig in upon the top of Bunker Hill and have his artillery amuse itself by firing at the American positions on Winter and Prospect hills.

Thus ended Bunker Hill—the name has stuck although it was Breed's Hill that was chiefly concerned, even the memorial shaft on Breed's Hill is today called Bunker Hill monument. Considering the small number of men engaged and the comparatively "toy-like weapons" of the time, the loss was terrific. For the Americans, the tally was: killed, one hundred and fifteen; wounded, three hundred and five; captured, thirty. For the British: (official report) killed, two hundred and twenty six; wounded, eight hundred and twenty eight—a total of a thousand and fifty four. The American estimate of British casualties was fifteen hundred.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

Having lost his chance of an assault upon the American Army, Gage settled down to resist the siege which Ward immediately organized. Gage, still blind to the importance of South Boston and Dorchester Heights, merely made certain that Boston Neck was tightly closed and upon Bunker Hill—the real one,—established an adequate fort. To balance this work, Ward had Putnam build a solid entrenchment on the nearly opposite Prospect Hill. By the last of June some four thousand Americans were firmly dug in and thus the two forts faced each other with neither side daring to risk an assault upon the other. Prospect Hill, in particular, was considered impregnable.

The main army, centered in Cambridge, built solid lines out from the center between the Charles and Mystic rivers. Thus Boston was completely bottled up by land, for the neck of Boston was covered by some five thousand troops posted in Roxbury and Dorchester. On June 24th, cannon were mounted by the Americans near the Old Dorchester Burying Ground and some few shots were thrown into Boston.

The amazing success of Prescott in repulsing two British charges and retreating only when his powder gave out, fired the American Army with as much delight as a complete victory would have done and the country was likewise elated, sending more volunteers into Ward's camp. A company of Indians from Stockbridge even reported

for duty. Greene expressed the situation when he wrote home. "I wish we could sell the British another hill at the same price."

On July 2nd Washington arrived, escorted from Springfield with great honor and respect. The house of the president of Harvard College had been obtained as headquarters and there, after due ceremony, Washington immediately threw himself into organizing the Army. It was a disheartening job. Not only was powder very scarce—less than nine charges for each man, but the troops were "a mixed multitude of people, under very little discipline, order and government." The Americans dressed as they pleased and they lived as they pleased—many men simply walked home for week-ends or to spend a few days "getting in the hay."

Washington soon, however, created a firm discipline and, to match the British ten thousand, set about increasing his force to twenty two thousand. In formation, he divided his forces into three divisions; the right wing, in Roxbury, was under General Ward; the center, in Cambridge, under General Putnam; the left wing, in Somerville, under General Lee. In picturing the organization, the country must be visualized as very different from what it is now. Not only has the area under water then, been very largely filled in, but, where more than a million inhabitants are now crowded together, there were farms, orchards and large reaches of vacant land.

July passed without any disturbance; the Americans being busily engaged in organizing themselves, and the British awaiting for the attack they anticipated. There was some talk of holding a parley with the view to settling differences with words instead of bullets—but the proposals came to nothing.

The Provincial Congress received word from the Continental Congress to organize the government of the commonwealth as it thought best and, accordingly, while the town was bombarded by a fleet of British frigates, under Lieutenant Mowatt, reestablished the old General Court on July 19th, vested the offices of governor and lieutenant governor in councilors elected from among themselves and formed a constitutional government almost similar to that under the old charter. This government endured for five years—until the state constitution was written.

The same British fleet which battered Falmouth, Maine, also raided Gloucester but Mowatt was driven off, as he entered the harbor in small boats, with a loss of thirty-five men. This caused the new General Court to authorize the equipment of two armed vessels and to pass a law encouraging privateering. Thus began the American Navy. Washington also fitted out cruisers to essay the task of cutting

off the Boston supply ships, bringing food to Gage. In this service, Captain Manly, of the schooner *Lee*, greatly distinguished himself, taking several prizes right in Boston Bay, among which was a brig laded with mortars, heavy guns and military tools, supplies which Washington needed very badly. Naval activity in the South also resulted in a large supply of powder being captured off Charlestown, which met Washington's greatest need.

August was marked by Washington occupying Mount Benedict, in front of Winter Hill, in Somerville, with 3,600 men under General Sullivan. The British, discovering the works, which mushroomed over night, attempted to clear the hill by cannon, but without success. Washington during the month labored to persuade Gage to treat the prisoners taken at Bunker Hill with humanity. They had been thrown into the common jail and treated as criminals. Gage replied that instead of being criticized for jailing the men, he ought to be congratulated for not hanging them out of hand as traitors. The month was also distinguished by a party of Tories, aided by troops, cutting down the famous Liberty Tree, near what is now Washington and Essex streets. The great elm was leveled amid "spells of laughing and grinning, sweating, swearing and foaming with diabolical malice." Yet it was not a purely joyous occasion for one Tory, perched aloft amid the branches, waited too long for safety. He was still high up when the tree crashed over and was crushed to death.

September was also quiet. There were commonly skirmishes between British posts and American scouting parties but nothing of importance took place. Under Benedict Arnold, a detachment of a thousand men was sent up through Maine to aid Montgomery in a projected attack upon Quebec and that grand adventure proved to be one of romantic interest—but it does not concern the history of Massachusetts.

Washington and his council considered plans for an attack upon Boston by land and water but concluded to wait until the American strength was greater. Meanwhile, the British were sore pressed for food and supplies, but the month brought in several supply ships and any danger of famine passed.

October saw the British preparing to pass the winter with pleasure. A season of balls, parties, concerts and plays was planned and the troops were ordered quartered in comfort upon the inhabitants of the town. In the midst of these preparations, however, Gage was recalled and Howe appointed to take his place. In general, the recall of Gage is attributed to Bunker Hill, as the Crown chose to regard the loss of men that day to Gage's mismanagement.

Howe, an abler man than Gage, was not pleased with the Boston situation and, in his dispatches to Dartmouth in London, advised the evacuation of Boston. He wrote, "The opening of the campaign from this quarter would be attended with great hazzard, as well from the strength of the country, as from the intrenched position the rebels have taken." He advised moving southward, where he said, the Loyal sentiment was much stronger and probable success would attend British arms.

However, as a military officer, it was his duty to defend Boston and he zealously directed the establishment of winter quarters. One of his projects was greeted by the Americans with dismay; Howe took over the Old South Meeting House, cleared out the pews and gave the building to his officers for use as a riding hall for exercise. He also adopted strict regulations for the prevention of money, goods and information being sent out of the city.

October also saw Washington busy establishing his army for the winter. He furthered naval enterprise too, commissioning Nicholas Broughton of Marblehead to the schooner, *Hannah*, at Beverley. He and the General Court urged the development of privateering, particularly upon Newburyport and Salem, and many ships put to sea, flying at their peak the pine tree flag, white with a green figure and the gold motto, "Appeal to Heaven." Washington continued organizing his Army and, by correspondence with the Continental Congress, arranged for twenty six regiments to be organized by March 1776.

From the Army, this month, talk of independence began to attract attention in Philadelphia. General Greene wrote to them that the only alternatives which America had were separation or subjection. "We had as well be in earnest first as last," he wrote, "for we have no alternative but to fight it out or be slaves." Word was also received in Philadelphia that France was greatly interested in the war and would not be adverse to being asked to strike a blow at England on behalf of the colonies. Yet the Continental Congress continued to avow loyalty to the Crown and they actually drew up a petition to London which was expected, by some, to be "the olive branch of reconciliation." Interestingly enough, at the same time the petition was being written, Georgia, long stubbornly loyal to the Crown, entered into association with the other colonies and thus made the union complete.

November still found Washington busy with providing winter quarters and drilling his forces. His work was greatly hampered by jealousy, for the northern officers, who justly considered that the South had done nothing more than promise support and send

but two companies, and a commander-in-chief, ought to be more active in supporting the war since the struggle was not the concern of New England alone but of all America. Washington grew discouraged and wrote home, "Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command."

December intensified the American difficulties. Snow fell and the weather was bitterly cold, and thousands of men deserted, until the first of January saw less than ten thousand men maintaining the siege. The British stayed snug in Boston and enjoyed themselves, although their outpost on Bunker Hill was a pinnacle of suffering since the bare summit, exposed to the biting north-west winds, gave the men, sheltered in canvas tents, a most difficult assignment.

In Cambridge, which was sheltered from British guns, the American troops were well housed in the Harvard College buildings and other homes, as well as in tents, sod huts and board shacks. But in Somerville and Roxbury, the wings of the Army, suffered, for the British guns and fires had practically swept the two towns to the bare ground.

The close of December also brought Washington to a grave point. Most of his soldiers had enlisted only for 1775 and they all desired to go home, naturally. Thus, the General was faced with the problem of disbanding one army and raising another all the while maintaining his siege of Boston. It was feared that the other New England States would not respond to requests for new enlistments to replace the old and the New Year came in very gloomy guise.

It is often remarked that events make men, not men events. December, 1775, speaks otherwise. What would have been the fate of the Revolution if Washington, swamped with troubles, had quit and gone home along with the third of his army that did quit and go home? Massachusetts might have maintained the siege and won the contest, too; but it is doubtful, even if such had been the case, that there would be a United States today.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Evacuation of Boston

If the coming of 1776 brought Washington the difficult task of disbanding one army while organizing another, the New Year also gave General Howe an abundance of difficulties.

First, and foremost, was the near famine which prevailed in Boston. To the native citizens of the town, were added ten thousand troops and an unknown number of refugee Loyalists. The American siege cutting off communication with the country, and the American naval and privateer vessels seriously curtailing the inflow of supplies from England, the British commissariat was sadly hampered. Salted beef, ships bread and molasses seem to have been the principal foods available.

Second, the supply of fuel—which could only come from the country,—was entirely shut off and thus the severe winter weather caused a great deal of suffering. In some degree the shortage was met by pulling down houses, but this did not meet the need to any degree.

And third, sickness, as could be expected from a poor diet and lack of warmth, ravaged the city. The smallpox, always to be found in any American city of the day, broke out among the troops and assumed serious proportions.

Naturally, with inhabitants driven to desperation by hunger and cold, lawlessness was rife; not only was disorder common but private property was plundered. In fact, it was only by the sternest military discipline that Howe was able to prevent complete confusion. He hanged some offenders and gave others barbaric whippings, sometimes as many as a thousand lashings. Frothingham records that the wife of a private soldier was sentenced “to receive one hundred lashes on her bare back with a cat-o’-nine-tails, at the cart’s tail, in different and conspicuous portions of the town, and to be imprisoned for three months.”

In the midst of his difficulties with his Army, on January 15th, Washington received the resolution of the Continental Congress authorizing him to attempt the expulsion of the British from Boston in

any manner expedient, "notwithstanding the town, and the property in it, might thereby be destroyed." John Hancock, Boston's leading merchant, president of the Congress, not only voted for the resolution but wrote personally to Washington, saying, "May God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though individually I may be the greatest sufferer."

Washington accordingly summoned a council of war and the project was discussed for several days. At length, governed by the poor condition of the American Army, it was decided that, as the number of



RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM CONCORD
(From the engraving by Smilie of the Alonzo Chappel painting)

men was inadequate, a special new short-term recruiting campaign was to be launched and, meanwhile, Washington was to hold himself in readiness to launch an attack with what force he could muster if any favorable opportunity should present itself. A second council of war was held on February 16th with a like result, plus the decision to begin a bombardment of Boston as soon as an adequate supply of powder could be obtained.

Late in February, however, the American Army received important additions: ten new regiments arrived and were mustered into service and thanks to Colonel Henry Knox, an ample supply of cannon, mortars and howitzers and powder, seized at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, came into camp, having been dragged over frozen lakes and deeply

drifted mountains at an expenditure of incredible energy and perseverance.

Thus, as March dawned, Washington was at last able to set about forcing the British to evacuate Boston. The whole ring of forts and breastworks encircling Boston was strengthened, so as to make a British sally futile, and then plans were prepared for the surprise fortification of Dorchester Heights, known now as South Boston.

For three nights, beginning March second, as constant a barrage as the Americans could accomplish, was poured into Boston from Roxbury, Cambridge and points between. On the night of the fourth, under cover of this fire, General Thomas, with cannon and about two thousand men, climbed up on South Boston Heights. This hill commands the whole of Old Boston and most of the original harbor. Since the ground was frozen hard enough to make digging slow and difficult, carts loaded with "chandeliers, fascines and screwed hay" were taken along to form temporary breastworks while the men pounded at the frozen earth.

Two forts were built, one on the summit overlooking and nearest to Boston—the other on the summit overlooking Castle William. The men worked with the utmost caution and silence but so vigorously that, by dawn, they had dug deeply enough to be safe from British guns. The astonishment of Howe when his aides burst into his bedroom with the news that the Rebels had fortified Dorchester Heights overnight, was very great. "I know not what to do," he is reported as saying, "These rebels have done more in one night than my whole Army would have done in months." He called a council and, after Admiral Shulldham, commanding the fleet, said that if the Americans were not dislodged, he could not keep his ships in the harbor, it was determined that the Americans would have to be driven from the hill—just as in the case of Bunker Hill.

Washington had anticipated that such would be the case and had arranged for Sullivan and Greene to lead four thousand chosen men from Cambridge across the Charles into the City, thus taking the British from behind. As the British regiments were paraded, the Americans were overjoyed and flamed with anxiety for the battle to begin. Being the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, the patriots were feverish to make the day memorable again.

However, the mild and pleasant morning was followed by a furious gale of wind, which prevented the British from crossing the harbor to attack the Heights, a plan made necessary by the land passage over Boston Neck being barred by the American forts in Roxbury and Dorchester. The British planned to launch the attack the following

day—war was a leisurely business in 1776—but the sixth was also too unpleasant for soldiers to work out of doors.

By the seventh, Howe had lost his ambition for the job of driving the Americans out of position, by then very strongly prepared, and issued secret orders to begin the evacuation of Boston. Six American soldiers, who had been captured, managed to escape that night and informed Washington of Howe's plans. The American staff did not believe that Howe would give up the city so ingloriously but, surely enough, on the morning of the eighth, the Board of Selectmen of Boston, sent an official communication to Washington to the effect that Howe would shortly leave the town and would not fire it if Washington would refrain from molesting the red coats any further.

Suspicious of British duplicity, Washington continued to tighten his ring of forts about the town and for a solid week, the American Army was held in suspense. From their heights about the town, they could see the British making preparations for embarking but the Americans did not dare relax their vigilance for fear of a surprise attack. Howe, it became apparent later, did exert himself to prevent his disgruntled men from acts of violence but was not altogether successful as, according to Gordon, "There was a licentious plundering of shops, stores, and dwelling houses, by soldiers and sailors, carrying destruction wherever they went; and what they could not carry away, they destroyed." In particular, great quantities of woolen and linen goods were stolen and a considerable amount of molasses and salt was wantonly ruined. However, according to the habits of war, Boston really escaped very lightly.

In evacuating the town, Howe thus carried out an arduous job creditably. In addition to his ten thousand men, he was faced with the problem of taking with him at least eleven hundred Loyalists who, probably reasonably enough, feared the vengeance of the Patriots. About one hundred and fifty vessels were available and, somehow, during the eleven days, beginning the sixth of March, household goods and property of various kinds, together with some eleven thousand human beings were stowed aboard and all was made ready. At that, according to various sources, including the newspapers of the day, Howe left behind him some \$150,000 of His Majesty's property, mostly cannon and heavy goods which, although partially destroyed, were, for the most part, salvaged and made use of by the American Army.

On the morning of the 17th, the fleet weighed anchor and most of it stood out to sea although contrary winds forced a number of the transports, guarded of course by frigates, to remain in the roads

for several days. While these ships were thus weather bound, the British had perfect orchestra seats to witness the exuberance with which Boston welcomed the men of the American Army.

Washington entered the town very cautiously, fearful even at the last minute of a trick. He sent picked columns into town from various points and had them converge at the Common and, only when he was personally satisfied that the British had really departed, did he permit a portion of his troops to disband. Many of his men were citizens



WASHINGTON AT DORCHESTER HEIGHTS AT THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON

of Boston and they were the first to be dismissed—and eagerly must they have hastened home to their families.

Washington was informed that Howe's destination was Halifax but he so strongly anticipated that the General would strike south and attack New York that he immediately sent Lee southward and, after completing plans for the defense of Boston against a naval attack, followed with the main body of the Army.

The triumph of American arms, which turned the rebellion of New England into a war for independence, was most encouraging and doubtless went far towards bringing about the outpouring of sufficient energy and faith to carry the cause through the dark years ahead.

Washington was roundly congratulated. The Continental Congress honored him with a vote of thanks, struck a medal to commemorate his victory and the Massachusetts General Court, the town of Boston and other organizations showered praises upon him.

Boston exhibited a melancholy condition when enthusiasm cooled. Smallpox was prevalent. The streets were filled with dirt and refuse. Many buildings had been destroyed. Churches had generally been defaced; fruit orchards and ornamental trees had been hewed down, and every section of the town bore witness to the British occupation. Happily, Boston was young and vigorous, and the prosperity incident to war soon filled the streets with people, the shops with industry and the warehouses with goods. New buildings were erected, streets were rebuilt and before long, Boston was more prosperous and attractive than ever. With the passing of Howe, never again was Boston molested nor, save for naval raids during this war, and that of 1812, did hostile guns ever fire over Massachusetts soil. We have not known military bloodshed since 1776.

CHAPTER XXV

In the Revolution

With the passing of the war from New England soil, Massachusetts nevertheless continued its active participation in the Revolution and displayed throughout its course, the same high degree of patriotic devotion which it manifested in the years which led to and began the struggle.

It is pardonable to survey the actual situation, for the intellectual leadership of the outstanding Bostonians was so ably seconded by the courage and zeal of the sons of Massachusetts who physically endured the war that the State's conduct made an indelible impression upon the entire nation, an impression which is felt as deeply today as ever.

It was upon Massachusetts' soil that the first blood was shed as it was from her sons that the first protests against British despotism were spoken and, by her that, while other colonies were equally agitated, the hazard was first dared.

During the war, the three principal towns of the thirteen colonies were held by the British. Boston was the first but, such was the stubborn determination of Massachusetts' men, that the city was liberated after a much briefer occupation than was the lot of New York and Philadelphia.

It is true that all of Massachusetts' military history occurred in the first year of the war, that the decisive battles of the Revolution were fought to the South, and that the other sections of the nation-to-be were forced to endure far greater hardship and loss but, in all that, Massachusetts bore her part brilliantly.

Her sons sailed and marched to the aid of every colony and took part in every engagement, from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. Military statistics prove the value of Massachusetts in the war. Of the twenty-one major generals of the American Army, during the eight years, six were of Massachusetts. Of the forty-nine brigadier generals, ten were from this Commonwealth. Of the rank and file of the Army, the figures are even more impressive: In 1775, of the 37,363



SALEM—LESLIE'S RETREAT AT NORTH BRIDGE
From painting by Lewis Jesse Bridgman, Essex Institute Collection

men enlisted, 16,499 were of Massachusetts; in 1777 out of 68,720 men, 12,591 were of this State. This same proportion was maintained throughout the war save in 1779 and 1780, when Virginia's forces actually in the field (the war was in the South then) about equalled Massachusetts' force. However, in 1782, with the war still in the South, with 18,006 men in the field, Massachusetts maintained 4,423 men and Virginia but 2,204. All in all, Massachusetts furnished 67,000 of the 231,000 men employed in the Continental Army.

Daniel Webster, speaking in the United States Senate, in 1830, expressed the State's glory eloquently. "Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts—she needs none. There she is:—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history: the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill—and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State, from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever."

In addition to this military activity, and the naval engagements as well, Massachusetts also was conspicuous in finally bringing about the Declaration of Independence. For more than a year after Lexington and Concord, some delegates to the Continental Congress wavered, reluctant to risk everything, and still hopeful of conciliation and adjustment. These delegates struggled with the men from Massachusetts, insulting them as "desperate adventurers, bankrupts, attorneys and men of desperate fortunes." But Massachusetts' men were convinced of the necessity for independence and put the idea through. This is not at all surprising, for being of Puritan blood, the folk of New England were liberty-loving and idealistic. In the long struggle with the Crown over liberty, Massachusetts' sons had been trained to consider constitutional principles and the philosophy of politics. To this mental attitude, the physical hardships of British aggression in the Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea-Party, the closing of the Port of Boston, the military occupation of Boston and the rest, together with the battles of 1775, added fuel to the fire of their determination that not only should present conditions be bettered but that, forever, it should be made impossible for them to reoccur.

CHAPTER XXVI

Massachusetts a State

For the protection of persons and property, the Declaration of Independence made it necessary for the American Colonies to organize some form of government to take the place of the renounced Crown. Each colony, discovering that independence had created it a state, assumed, without difficulty, that it was sovereign within its own borders and that the only source of authority was resident within the legislature, in that that body was the duly elected representative of the people who, by election, gave the authority. But, in order to preserve freedom and established principles, it was considered necessary to frame a written body of law, or constitution, which, when approved by the people, would not only limit the power of the legislature but set up the machinery through which the public business could be conducted.

In Massachusetts, there was no pressing necessity for the establishment of such a constitution. While it was true that the old charter was no longer valid—and thus there was no legal obligation for anyone being bound by its provisions—yet the General Court had organized itself upon the forms of the charter and the State was being directed without any material alterations from the old order. Of course, there was no governor, but the executive council, elected by and from the General Court, discharged the duties of the chief magistrate in all regular circumstances. And, as time went on, difficulties began to appear but, in the stress of the war, these were not important enough to occasion any general concern.

However, particularly in Boston, it was recognized that the irregular government might break down under the sudden stress and it was also feared that the few difficulties might soon multiply. So, believing that it would be simpler to remedy what difficulties existed before troubles became more numerous, agitation was begun in June, 1776, for a constitution. When the Court met in September, 1776, a motion was made, accordingly, that a committee be appointed by and from the General Court to prepare a form of government. The Committee was appointed, but nothing further was done, as objections were made

that it was not a proper task for the General Court to undertake, since it was, properly, a matter which concerned all the citizens of the state. In February, a convention was held in Worcester by the committees of safety of several towns who voted that it was "improper for the existing General Court to form a constitution and that a

convention of delegates from all the towns in the Commonwealth should be called for that purpose."

So, in May, when the agitation for a constitution was renewed in the General Court, the committee plan was dropped and the Court recommended to the towns of the State that they choose representatives to the next General Court with specific powers to adopt a form of government. This was done, at least tacitly, but a great deal of opposition was awakened. Boston led in opposition to the plan, as did most of Worcester County towns; they contended, as before, that a constitution could only be properly prepared by a convention of special delegates.



OLD STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

Courtesy of Boston Chamber of Commerce

Nevertheless, the General Court went ahead. In June, 1777, twelve members were appointed from the Council and the House to prepare a constitution. These were, Council: Jeremiah Powell, Thomas Cushing, Daniel Davis and John Taylor—House: James Warren, Robert Treat Paine, Azor Orne, Jeduthun Bliss, James Prescott, John Pickering, George Partridge and Joseph Simpson.

Meeting in secret, the Committee, in February 1778, presented a draught of a Constitution to the General Court. It was approved and submitted to the people; but on March 4th it was rejected five to one.

There seem to have been three chief popular objections to this first draught. First, it contained no bill of rights; second, the division of representation was unequal in that, while even the smallest civic division was given one seat, it was not until three hundred polls were exceeded that a second seat was given; and third, the powers and duties of the executive and legislative branches of the government were not clearly separated or defined. And, of course, the general feeling that the Constitution should be prepared by a convention instead of by the General Court undoubtedly contributed to its overwhelming defeat.

Thereupon, in June, 1779, after much discussion and voting, the General Court finally issued a call for delegates to a constitutional convention to be elected by the towns of the state, to meet at Cambridge in September. The convention assembled and chose James Bowdoin, president, and Samuel Barrett, secretary. Then a committee of twenty six was chosen to draught the document—James Bowdoin, John Adams, and John Lowell from Suffolk County; Theophilus Parsons, Jonathan Jackson and Samuel Phillips, Jr., from Essex County; James Sullivan, Nathaniel Gorham and Eleazar Brooks from Middlesex County; Noah Goodman, Major Hezekiah Smith and John Billings from Hampshire County; John Cotton and Rev. Gad Hitchcock from Plymouth County, Enock Hallett from Barnstable County; R. T. Paine and Rev. Samuel West from Bristol County; Benjamin Chadbourn and David Sewall from York; Jedediah Forster, Joseph Dorr and Israel Nichols from Worcester County, Samuel Small from Cumberland; and James Harris and Captain William Walker from Berkshire County.

This committee went to work and the convention was adjourned for two months and then adjourned again until January 1780. During this period, the constitution was a matter of universal concern; not only was everyone talking about it, but the newspapers wrote leading articles and various public organizations met and passed resolutions which flooded in upon the heads of the laboring convention committee.

Finally, the convention met again and received the new and second draught of a constitution, which had been revised several times in Committee. After two months of discussion, it was finally adopted, eighteen hundred copies were ordered printed and distributed to the people and an order given for a vote which, taken on the first Wednesday in June, 1780, was two to one in favor. Thus the first state constitution of Massachusetts came into being.

However, the document was not entirely satisfactory and contained defects which were corrected by succeeding constitutional conventions—for the most part. Points of controversy were the provision for religious instruction, the provision for the preservation of liberty of speech and the freedom of the press, the provision respecting the privilege of the writ of *Habcas Corpus*; and the provision empowering the governor, without the consent of the legislature, to call out the militia for duty in an adjoining state whenever the need arose.

The difficulty with the first point, religious instruction, was that the people of Massachusetts wished to make certain of religious freedom and of the abolition of any form of religious compulsion. Thus, when the provision laid a tax upon everyone for the support of the churches, it was considered to be a form of compulsion to which persons who did not wish religious instruction ought not to be subjected. No doubt, the convention felt that the tax did not interfere with any person's religious freedom, since it was expressly provided that no one should be molested on account of his religious opinions and that no denomination could have exclusive or peculiar privileges. This point of view was supported by the majority of the voters and the provision remained a part of the constitution until 1834. The objections on the other points were chiefly questions of definition in the interest of attaining the greatest possible security of persons and property.

As soon as the vote was recorded, notice was given for general state elections in September at which the governor, lieutenant governor and senators were to be elected and in October for the members of the House of Representatives. John Hancock was chosen governor, the state graciously thus honoring the Boston merchant who labored so assiduously and efficiently for independence. But the state failed to give anyone a majority for lieutenant governor and thus the first duty of the newly constituted Senate was to fill the office. James Bowdoin was chosen; he refused. James Warren was then selected; he too refused. Finally, Thomas Cushing was elected; he accepted.

When the state was thus created, criticism was not wanting. In fact, many prominent men saw fit to declare that the government could not long endure so organized. Chief of the objections was that the constitution retained altogether too much of the past in its forms, ceremonies and titles. The charge was even made that it was in no substantial particular any different from a royalist government. This allegation was based on the fact that the titles of governor, lieutenant governor, councillors and senators were "slavish imitations" of the governmental forms of the old world. However, the critics were

confounded as the ship of state continued on an even keel. The fact is that the members of the constitutional convention included statesmen whose knowledge of political science was not theoretical but practical; solid wisdom garnered through years of conflict with the Crown. Thus, their guiding principles were, first, to make no unnecessary innovations which might upset the people, to reject as worthless, no matter what titles might be, any ideas or practices which had not been proven sound; and to preserve by all means, liberties and privileges which, even as the constitution was being written, were being paid for in blood and tears on the battlefields. In short, the convention did not embark on any scheme which, no matter how glowingly its colors were painted, had nothing to recommend it but novelty. Thus, it was true that the constitution did build upon the foundation of the past and did, in some degree, frame its architecture from the timbers of the late royal government.

Probably the most serious danger the new constitution overcame was not this objection to its forms and titles but political partisanship. Hancock himself was deeply embroiled in quarrels with other leaders—some of them accused Hancock of being far more concerned with the favor of the people than with the business of the State. The opposition was gathered about Bowdoin and Hancock's victory over Bowdoin in the election was such a bitter pill that, while no serious evils resulted, there were occasional demonstrations of individual resentment and of intemperate partisanship. Also in opposition to Hancock and his party, was a group of prominent political "bosses" in Essex County, who were dubbed the "Essex Junto" by Hancock. While this group was all powerful in Essex and did influence state mercantile and financial policies, Hancock successfully combated them in most instances and the general welfare of the commonwealth did not come to harm.

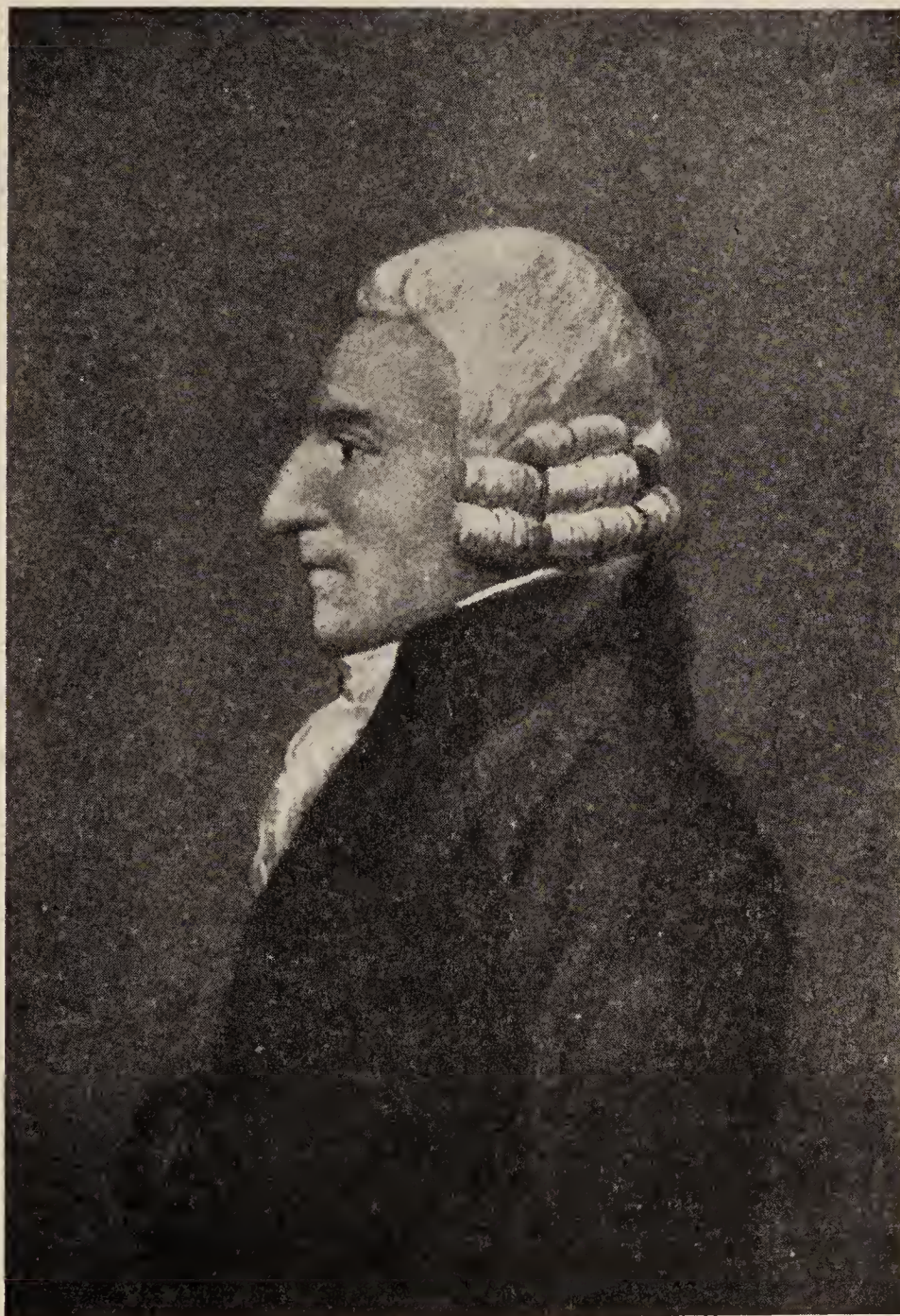
Hancock's character and ability continued to be displayed so favorably that he was re-elected governor over his opposition until 1785 when, because of ill health, he declined to run again for office and was replaced by James Bowdoin who, although failing to obtain a majority vote, was chosen for office by the legislature.

All figures in public life in Massachusetts have been subjected to criticism, and Hancock received as much, if not more, than any other. It cannot well be disputed that he was fond of display, very ambitious and somewhat vain. These are common faults and, when a man is as wealthy as Hancock was, only to be expected. But there seems no valid reason, at least now, to claim that his patriotism was selfish, and that his expressed devotion to the cause of independence was dictated more by love of his bank balance than by patriotism. Probably the

merchants of America did believe that they could be more prosperous under an independent government than they could ever be under the rule of a Crown controlled by English merchants; probably they did feel that the chance for wealth was good enough to risk their present fortune, but it is rather too much to say that an already wealthy man like Hancock would deliberately put his neck into a noose for the mere chance of adding to his fortune. At least Hancock must have been actuated by the same spirit as John Adams, Samuel Adams, James Otis and the others. Since they were not wealthy merchants, no one now bothers to accuse their honesty of purpose. To this charge of selfishness, is sometimes added the accusation that Hancock was a demagogue and an adventurer. Perhaps he was—but the times needed a man who would dare an adventure and who could persuade the people to follow him. It seems more charitable to judge any man by what he accomplishes and what he tries to do. On this ground, at least, no one can but declare that Hancock, Massachusetts' first elected governor, well merits his honors and distinctions because of his manifold sacrifices and generous devotion to the Commonwealth and to the United States.

During his administration, several important things took place within the state. As an illuminating aside, there is the formation of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, incorporated May 4, 1780. James Bowdoin was its principal patron and first president. The same year saw the incorporation of "an academy at Andover for the instruction of youth in the higher branches of learning."

Another incident, although not important in itself, was of tremendous concern to thousands of superstitious folks who were certain that their troubles had brought about the end of the world. This was the famous "dark day" of May 19, 1780. The morning opened cloudy with a little rain. All morning the clouds thickened until, by noon, artificial lights were necessary in houses and birds and beasts "repaired to their places of nightly repose." All afternoon the blackness held and the night was of a darkness "as gross as ever has been observed since the Almighty fiat first gave birth to light." The sun came up as usual the next morning and the terror of the day of darkness was soon forgotten. The peculiar thing about the phenomenon was that it was largely confined to New England and centered about Boston and the region to the north and east. At the time the "scientific" explanation was that the darkness was caused by thick clouds of smoke from forest fires in New Hampshire being blown down by the north-west wind of the night before and being held over Boston by a change in the wind to the easterly. However, more recent writers attribute the darkness to an unusually thick cloud caused by a meeting over New



Wm Cushing

Chief Justice of Massachusetts, 1777-1789. Associate Justice, Supreme Court
of the United States, 1789-1810

England of a warm, wet wind from the south and a cold wet wind from the east. This condition does cause the typical heavy northeasterly storms common to New England and some meteorological condition peculiar to the day might have caused the clouds to form with unusual thickness and yet have prevented any precipitation of rain taking place.

The chief work of the General Court, in addition to the multitudinous tasks incident to organizing the new government, and providing for Massachusetts' share in the war, was the appointment of a special committee "to revise the laws in use in the commonwealth, and to select, abridge, alter and digest them, so as they should be accommodated to the present government." This was necessary legally as well as practically in that the new constitution created the Supreme Judicial Court to take over the functions of the Superior Court of Judicature, under the charter the highest court of the colony and province. The committee consisted of the attorney general, the justices of the Superior Court and James Bowdoin and Timothy Pickering, two leading lawyers.

The second event of importance was the establishment of the "Massachusetts Bank" in 1784. Its capital was not to exceed five hundred thousand pounds but its charter placed no limitations upon its continuance. For several years it was the only incorporated banking company in the state and it harvested great profits for its stockholders. The bank still survives under the name of The First National Bank of Boston and it is one of the bulwarks of American finance. Massachusetts, in 1786, established a mint but, after coining some seventy thousand dollars in cent and half cent pieces, was discontinued when the federal constitution was adopted. The mint was originally established for the coining of gold and silver pieces but congress advised against the business on the ground that minting was a responsibility of the central authority, since a uniform currency was to be desired in the interest of interstate commerce as well as foreign trade.

The abolition of slavery was the third matter of importance. The colony and the province was never enthusiastic about slavery since, in addition to religious scruples, it was not economically profitable to make use of slave labor in New England. Thus, although slavery was legal enough, the slaves in the state at the time of the Revolution were mostly confined to the homes of wealthy citizens, where they served as body and household servants. The new state constitution, in deference to a growing popular dislike of slavery, contained, in the first article of the Declaration of Rights, the famous words from the Declaration of Independence "All men are created free and equal." As

the year went along several cases seeking the freeing of slaves came into court and a far reaching decision was handed down in 1781 in Worcester when a slave owner was sentenced to pay forty shillings for beating his slave, on the ground that he had been guilty of assault. The legal implication of this was that slavery was no longer to be sanctioned in the commonwealth and the trade itself was prohibited March 26, 1788. Slavery continued of course in milder forms for some time but it gradually ceased as the old family slaves died off, and the beginning of the 19th century saw the final end of human slavery in the state—the institution died a natural death. The census of 1790 did not include a single slave in Massachusetts although the state then had a population of 478,000—100,000 in the District of Maine and 378,000 in the state proper.

The administration of Governor Bowdoin—Boston born of Huguenot stock, a man who gave thirty years to public service—was marked by many difficulties but by exhibitions of correct judgment and wise prudence such as greatly advanced the progress of the State.

One of the first troubles was uneasiness in the District of Maine, that future state desiring to be freed from the control of Massachusetts and to be organized into a separate body. In 1785 a convention was held in Falmouth, now Portland, and the plan of separating from Massachusetts discussed. Bowdoin criticised the convention as exhibiting "an evil tendency towards dismembering the Commonwealth" and the General Court censured the plan as "fraught with improprieties and danger."

Nevertheless, the Maine convention appointed a committee to write a list of evils and grievances and to plan a separate government. This was accomplished and, after every town in the District had been sent copies of the papers, another convention was held in September, 1786 at which a committee was appointed to petition the General Court for a separation. In January, 1787, the District of Maine voting by towns upon the advisability of the petition favored it. However, the convention, reassembling, voted to delay the matter by adjournment for a year—and thus the matter was permitted to drop—"rocked into a slumber" in which it slept for several years thereafter.

The General Court, moved to attempt conciliation of Maine by this separatist fever, took steps to better conditions in Maine. Wild lands were exempted from taxation for a period of ten years, poor debtors' laws were amended, roads were laid out at public cost, additional courts were provided, the laws of the state were published in Portland, permanent inhabitants, settled upon public lands prior to 1784, were given deeds to one hundred acres on the payment of five

dollars, a college was established—everything that could be done to tranquilize the District was accomplished.

Bowdoin, upon his reelection in 1786, urged that the business of education be attended to and, in particular, that the needs of Harvard be satisfied. The General Court followed the governor's suggestions and displayed that the commonwealth as a state had as great an interest in the advancement of education as did the old colony and the province.

The bustle of war had reacted to cause a decay in domestic manufacturing and the commonwealth had contracted a heavy debt by the purchase of goods from Europe. This mounting burden caused Bowdoin to declare that the Court must take steps to remedy the evil and most of the leading men of the state agreed to discourage the importation of foreign goods and to encourage domestic production by wearing homespun clothing. Thus it became fashionable as well as patriotic to wear American made cloth, although it was not until later, when Hancock returned to office, that the General Court took definite steps towards the protection and encouragement of industry by aiding a duck manufactory in Boston, and a cotton factory in Beverly.

During Bowdoin's administration an important business was the settlement of the state's claim to lands to the west of the Hudson which were also claimed by New York. The dispute had been put up for settlement in the Continental Congress but without success. In 1786, agents from both states accordingly met in Hartford and the matter was amicably settled by Massachusetts relinquishing forever her claim, with the exception of two tracts, of about five million acres, one near the center of the state and the other on Lake Erie. The most western part in dispute had, of course, been previously ceded to Congress. The boundary line between the two states was also in dispute but the Hartford meeting also led to the settlement of this line by employing mathematicians and the geographer of the United States. Massachusetts did not retain the settled New York holdings for long; in 1787, a portion of them was sold for a million dollars and, in 1791, the balance was sold for \$100,000.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Loyalists of the Revolution

While it is trite to remark that every quarrel and particularly any civil disturbance, such as the Revolution, has and had two sides, it is necessary to point out that there were Loyalists in Massachusetts during the days of '76 because it is and has been fashionable either to ignore their existence altogether or else to heap abuse upon their unhappy heads. Doubtless, some of the contemporary abuse was deserved. But, in general, it seems likely that, since the Loyalists were adherents of a lost cause, in their defeat they received more criticism than was justly coming to them, particularly when it is observed that the Loyalists were, to a large degree, members of families, as well as individuals who had played leading parts in the establishment and the development of the Bay Colony. It was their misfortune to care more for the ancient business of royalty and the mother country than for the new philosophies of government and the new nation. As history shows, their affections cost them dearly, so dearly that there is no necessity of objugation.

While it is difficult at this time to picture exactly what was the persuasion of the average American colonist at the outbreak of the Revolution, probably it is nearly correct to state that the majority of folk in general were largely indifferent to the government and were ready to support with the unreasoning enthusiasm, characteristic of men in all ages and places, whatever party was successful and to remain lukewarm to that party as long as it was so successful. Loyalty to an existing state is the normal condition of the citizen and thus it was first of all the task of the American patriot to convert his fellows' opinion to the new order proposed.

The Patriots, aside from the unquestioned leaven of high-minded liberty-loving enthusiasts, were composed for the most part of folk who had little to lose in property or position, plus an accretion of talented men who felt that their property and abilities could find a better opportunity for expansion and recognition in a new order of things.

The Loyalists were largely men of conservatism, as is natural of prosperous folk. They were headed by Crown officials. Next in

order were wealthy merchants and businessmen plus a fairly solid class of the larger land-owners. To these are to be added representatives of such professions as were practiced at the time.

From the very beginning of hostilities the position of the Loyalists was most uncomfortable. In any civil disturbance, the man of wealth is at the mercy of the man who has nothing to lose and the true condition of affairs is demonstrated by the eager manner in which the Loyalists of the commonwealth flocked to Boston for protection when the British arms held that town after Concord and Lexington against the rising tide of rebellion. Surely, the position of the Loyalists who dared to remain was uncomfortable.

The "Sons of Liberty," the patriot civil organization, made things mighty unpleasant and, as always, the element of lawlessness seized upon the opportunity for cloaking its business in the cloak of respectability the "Sons of Liberty" afforded. Oppression and persecution of the Loyalists was thus openly official and secretly vicious. Freedom of speech was suppressed, the liberty of the press was erased and no Loyalist dared to express his views. And, here and there, insult and threat met the unfortunate adherents of the old order at every turn. One day a stout Loyalist might be sat upon a cake of ice to cool his fever or he might be informed that an enemy had sworn to murder him, or an anonymous letter might be received "warning" him that he would shortly be tarred and feathered. Patriot newspapers and tracts were handed to him and threats of physical persuasion were added if the printed propaganda did not prove effective. Legally, the Loyalist was shortly without rights. Unless he took the oath to favor American independence he could not find justice in what courts were operating. He could not sue a neighbor for the recovery of loaned money, and he might be assaulted, blackmailed and slandered without, in effect, having legal redress available. He could not accept legally the guardianship of a child, nor could he be appointed administrator of an estate, nor could he buy or sell land. Of course, these persecutions were not written law, nor did they exist everywhere in the State. And, even in the most patriotic towns, these minor persecutions were not always enforced and they could be evaded. But, the fact was that the Loyalist was tacitly ostracized from society and, when the community concerned was largely Patriot, then the Loyalist was actually expelled from society. He was a pariah.

This persecution reached its high point as soon as the British evacuated Boston. On January 17, 1777, the Commonwealth declared that the "Crime of adhering to Great Britain was punishable by death."

Thanks to a revival of the sanity of this Commonwealth, the law was never put into effect, although other States did execute a few Loyalists. In Pennsylvania for example, four hundred and ninety Loyalists were attainted of high treason and two citizens of Philadelphia, Roberts and Carlile, were hanged. In Connecticut a prison for Loyalists was established in an old copper mine at East Granby. In this underground hole of horror, the unfortunate Loyalists, who had been too active, were confined in dampness and dark. This prison was a national one and the federal government instructed the keepers of the prison to "confine them in such a manner that they cannot possibly make their escape . . . charges of their imprisonment will be at Continental expense." In May, 1781, it may be noted, twenty-eight of the Loyalist prisoners revolted, disarmed their guard, killing one in the process, and escaped to the hills and were not, with but a few exceptions, recaptured.

Because Massachusetts was instrumental in opening the Revolution and because it did far more than its share in financing and fighting the war, it is often considered that this commonwealth was not encumbered with many Loyalists. Certainly, this state did not have as large a proportion of them as did some of the southern states, but there were plenty here. For example, when General Howe evacuated Boston he was accompanied by eleven hundred loyalists. Sabine in his *Loyalists of the Revolution*, remarks of them, "Among these persons of distinguished rank and consideration there were members of the Council, Commissioners, officers of the Customs, and other officials, amounting to one hundred and two; of clergymen, eighteen; of inhabitants of country towns, one hundred and five; of merchants and other persons who resided in Boston, two hundred and thirteen; of farmers, mechanics and traders, three hundred and eighty two." Cambridge, it is to be noted, lost many prominent citizens also and, among the refugees, were about one hundred graduates of Harvard University. Among them were such names as Hutchinson, Winthrop, Saltonstall, Quincy, Sewell and Winslow—names which figure largely in the Bay Colony's history.

Of them, Hosmer in his *Life of Hutchinson* says, "There is much that is melancholy, of which the world knows but little, connected with this expulsion from the land they sincerely loved. The estates of the Loyalists were among the fairest, their stately mansions stood on the sightliest hill-brows, the richest and best-tilled meadows were their farms; the long avenue, the broad lawn, the trim hedge about the garden, servants, plate, pictures, for the most part these things were at the homes of the Loyalists . . .



VIEW OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
Drawn on the spot by His Excellency Governor Pownal

"The graceful, the chivalrous, the poetic, the spirits over whom these feelings had power, were sure to be Loyalists. Democracy was something rude and coarse, and independence meant to them a severance of those connections of which a colonist ought to be proudest.

"Hence, when the country rose, many a high-bred, honorable gentleman turned the key in his door, drove down his tree-lined avenue with his refined dame and carefully guarded children at his side, turned his back on his handsome estate, and put himself under the shelter of the proud banner of St. George. It was merely a temporary refuge, he thought, and he promised himself a speedy return when discipline and loyalty should have put down the rabble and the misled rustics.

"But the return was never to be. The day went against them; they crowded into ships, with the gates of their country barred forever behind them. They found themselves penniless upon shores sometimes bleak and barren, always showing scant hospitality to outcasts who came empty handed, and there they were forced to begin life anew. Consider the condition of Hutchinson, Apthorp, Gray, Clarke, Faneuil, Sewell, Royal, Vassal, and Leonard, families of honorable note bound in with all that was best in the life of the Province. Who can think of their destiny unpityingly?"

If Massachusetts did not execute or imprison as a commonwealth, her Loyalists, after the evacuation, the state did confiscate and sell all the property of Loyalists, at prices that can readily be imagined from the times. The proceeds were applied to the prosecution of the War and for other public needs. A reasonable enough business, doubtless, but hardly a happy one.

Most of the Massachusetts Loyalists went to the then nearly virgin lands of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, where they endured the great hardships of a new frontier. Others, however, fled to England after a sojourn in the Provinces and there passed the remainder of their lives.

While there is no discoverable estimate of the number of Massachusetts Loyalists who settled in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the number can be guessed from the fact that emigrants from the United States into Canada numbered 25,000 and emigrants into New Brunswick and Nova Scotia numbered 60,000. Massachusetts was, of course, the nearest large state to the two Maritime Provinces.

Most of these exiles became a temporary charge upon the British government and, to the credit of Britain, the cost was paid ungrudgingly. During the war, refugees to the number of nearly a thousand were housed and given fuel, furniture and financial assistance. After the war, when the situation became permanent, a final settlement of the Loyalist problem had to be made. The great majority of them

asked only for land and tools with which to start a new life. A small number, those who had lost land, office, income and position, demanded indemnity. The first group was satisfied with building material, tools and grants of land; heads of families were given five hundred acres and single men were given three hundred. Each new town formed was also given two thousand acres for church purposes and one thousand for schools. Clothing and food were also issued as needed; as late as 1785, twenty six thousand persons were still entitled to rations. In all, some three million acres of land were given, plus \$5,000,000 of funds for materials and equipment and another \$4,000,000 was given in direct assistance.

The second group, those who had sacrificed position and wealth for the sake of the Crown, were entitled to far greater compensation and it may be remarked that the British Government dealt liberally with them. After peace was declared, the various settlements of Loyalists appointed agents to present their claims, by direction of the Crown, although previously, all Loyalist military officers had been given half pay and Loyalist officials had been given posts in Canada similar to those they had resigned in Massachusetts, wherever possible. In July, 1783, Parliament appointed a commission of five to meet with the Loyalist agents to classify and to determine the losses and services of the Loyalists. After this examination, judgment was made. In the course of its life, this commission of five examined claims to the total amount of forty million dollars and awarded nineteen million dollars of damages. Thus, all in all, British expended more than thirty million dollars in caring for the Loyalist refugees.

Their task was a difficult one and, as is natural, not all the Loyalists were satisfied, for they did endure much hardship and privation and their new estate was in almost every case, very much inferior to that which they had sacrificed. However, as time passed, dissatisfaction ebbed and the folk began to glory in their stout-heartedness. This is evident by the formation of their numbers into a Society. In Quebec, November 9, 1789, an order was passed for "preserving a register of the Loyalists that had adhered to the unity of the empire, and joined the Royal Standard previous to the treaty of peace in 1783, to the end that their posterity may be distinguished from future settlers in the rank, registers, and rolls of the militia of their respective districts, as proper objects for preserving and showing the fidelity and conduct so honorable to their ancestors for distinguished benefit and privileges." Today, these descendants are organized as the "United Empire Loyalists," and count it an honor that their ancestors suffered exile for the sake of Great Britain.

The influence of these American emigrants upon Canada cannot be overestimated. Even within a few years after their establishment, many of them rose to high rank and office within their respective provinces and their sons have filled ever since the ranks of leaders in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia particularly. And even more, in the whole history of Canada, the sons of the Loyalists are distinguished in the history of the conception and establishment of the Dominion.

Thus, to a degree, the Patriots of Revolutionary America aided in no small degree the formation of a new nation along the northern border of the United States.

The question naturally arises why was this persecution of the Loyalists so bitter? The answer seems to be that, from the patriot point of view, it was necessary. Perhaps, had not the Loyalists been persecuted, driven away and their property confiscated, the great mass of folk would not have been convinced that the Patriots were in earnest and thus would not have swung over from indifference to support of the cause of freedom. Undoubtedly, the example and demonstration of what fate was in store for folks who chose to express their loyalty to the Crown did convince many other folks that it would be the best policy either to keep quiet or, in times when that was not sufficient, to speak and act for the patriot cause.

It is, of course, very easy to overdraw this aspect of the question but it does seem probable that the Revolution was, in certain aspects, something in the nature of a civil war, for the two sides were not far from being balanced. The Loyalists, when they reached Canada and London, contended that they were in the numerical majority in most of the colonies and that, if they had been supported by vigorous action by the British government, if the army and navy had appreciated the seriousness of the struggle earlier and acted with larger force and determination before French support gave the patriots strength, the Revolution could have been crushed within two years. Sidney George Fisher, in *The American Revolution* says on this point, "The Revolution was not by any means the pretty social event that the ladies of the so called 'patriotic' societies suppose it to have been. It was, on the contrary, a rank and riotous rebellion against the long established authority of a nation . . . All that saved this country from complete annihilation was the assistance after 1778 of the French Army, fleet, provisions and loans of money, followed by assistance from Spain and, at the last moment, by the alliance of Holland, and even with all this assistance the cause was, even as late as the year 1780, generally believed to become a hopeless one." This statement is somewhat exaggerated, for other writers have asserted with reason that the independence of the

Colonies from Britain was a foregone conclusion in that it would have been impossible for Britain to overcome eventually a nation of men such as those of the late eighteenth century who possessed the Colonies.

However, it is doubtless true that the Revolution was not an easy business and that the Loyalists were sufficiently strong in influence, if not in numbers, to have affected the ultimate outcome if they had not been terrorized and exiled by the patriots.

Stark, in his *Loyalists of Massachusetts* and *The Other Side of the American Revolution*, says, "If the Loyalists were really a majority, as they claimed to be, the disunionists were determined to break them up. Loyalists were tarred and feathered and carried on rails, gagged and bound for days at a time; stoned, fastened in a room with a fire and the chimney stopped on top; advertised as public enemies, so that they would be cut off from all dealings with their neighbors; they had bullets shot into their bedrooms, their horses poisoned and mutilated; money or valuable plate extorted from them to save them from violence, and on pretence of taking security for their good behavior; their houses and ships burned; they were compelled to pay guards who watched them in their houses, and when carted about for the mob to stare at and abuse, they were compelled to pay something at every town. For the three months of July, August and September of the year 1776, one can find in the American archives alone over thirty descriptions of outrages of this kind, and all done by so called patriots in the name of liberty! In short, lynch law prevailed for many years during the Revolution . . ." Stark's work, is of course, rather violent in its presentation of the case of the Loyalists but it does show that the campaign of terrorism was launched and, from the emigration which followed, prosecuted successfully.

It may be asked, in conclusion, why, if the Loyalists were so numerous and influential, did they not prevent the Revolution from breaking out or, after it had started, why did they flee? They were numerous and influential as has been stated but it seems probable, in the first place, that they were at a great disadvantage. They were not organized as the patriots were and had to be and thus they were, despite their number and position, numerically overwhelmed. Secondly, being conservative, they could not themselves take to violence in defence but must instead have looked to the Crown for support. When the Crown failed them, they were lost. Thus when the Revolution became a fact, and when British arms left Boston and finally America, they were simply without hope. As is always the case, a vigorous organization can defeat a scattered opposition in whatever engagement is undertaken.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The State: The Confederation and The Constitution

How deeply the Revolutionary War caused the American states to plunge into the depths of the depression cannot be estimated with any accuracy for, undoubtedly some of the decline in prosperity was due to the inefficiency of the Articles of the Confederation by and through which the several sovereign states attempted to dwell in peace and profit. Prepared as they were from models of Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, and adopted hurriedly in the very midst of the war, the Articles, as soon as peace was established, were clearly seen to be not merely imperfect in detail but wanting in adequacy.

The chief fault was that the Articles were powerless to enforce any remedies for the new nation's two most pressing faults—the tremendous public debt and the barriers to both foreign and domestic commerce which the jealousies of the various states had erected and maintained through fear of any sacrifice of individual liberties and profits. Only a strong central government could deal with these two problems and the Articles were too weak in both purpose and form even to attempt remedial action. Then, too, the vast public domain of the nation in the west, the great territories ceded by Massachusetts, Virginia, New York and Connecticut, an area exceeding in fertility and potential value, as well as in size, the room occupied by the entire original thirteen colonies, needed development, a development which could only be undertaken by a strong central government.

And, practically, the situation was critical in the extreme, especially for Massachusetts which, as a state neither agricultural nor industrial, was interested chiefly in trade and fishing, complementary occupations. Not only was the American monetary system crippled by the public debt and the impoverishment of the federal treasury, but federal authority was even less respected abroad than at home. American ambassadors were “the mere pageants of mimic sovereignty” and thus Massachusetts' ships and traders were handicapped at every step. No

wonder ships rotted at the moorings and that grass grew between the warehouses along the wharves.

Everywhere, it was recognized that the several states were so completely sovereign that the nation itself was but a shadow and the times were perilous. Everyone admitted that the central government, which "the foot of a child might overthrow, but which the hands of a giant could not rebuild," was tottering to a fall.

Consequently, with the need for a remedy so apparent, the chief concern of merchants and politicians alike came to be the welfare of the new nation. There was, first, a party, and a strong one, too, which wished for a monarchical form of government and George Washington was suggested as material for the founding of a new royal line. There was, second, plans for the partition of the confederacy into two or more smaller confederacies which, through a greater degree of community of interest, could be successfully welded into strong units. And there was, third, a plan to call a convention for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and, if necessary, to frame a new constitution, "adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

This third alternative was in favor in Massachusetts and on May 31, 1785, Governor Bowdoin took the initiative to bring the plan into action. In a message concerned with the anarchical condition of American commerce, he suggested to the General Court that the several states should be requested to elect or select delegates to "settle and define the powers which the National Congress should be invested with." The General Court received the message favorably and, passing a resolution, declared the Articles of the Confederation inadequate and recommended to the National Congress the calling of a convention of the states for the revision of the Articles. Accordingly papers were sent to the National Congress, to the governors of the thirteen states and to the Massachusetts delegates in the National Congress.

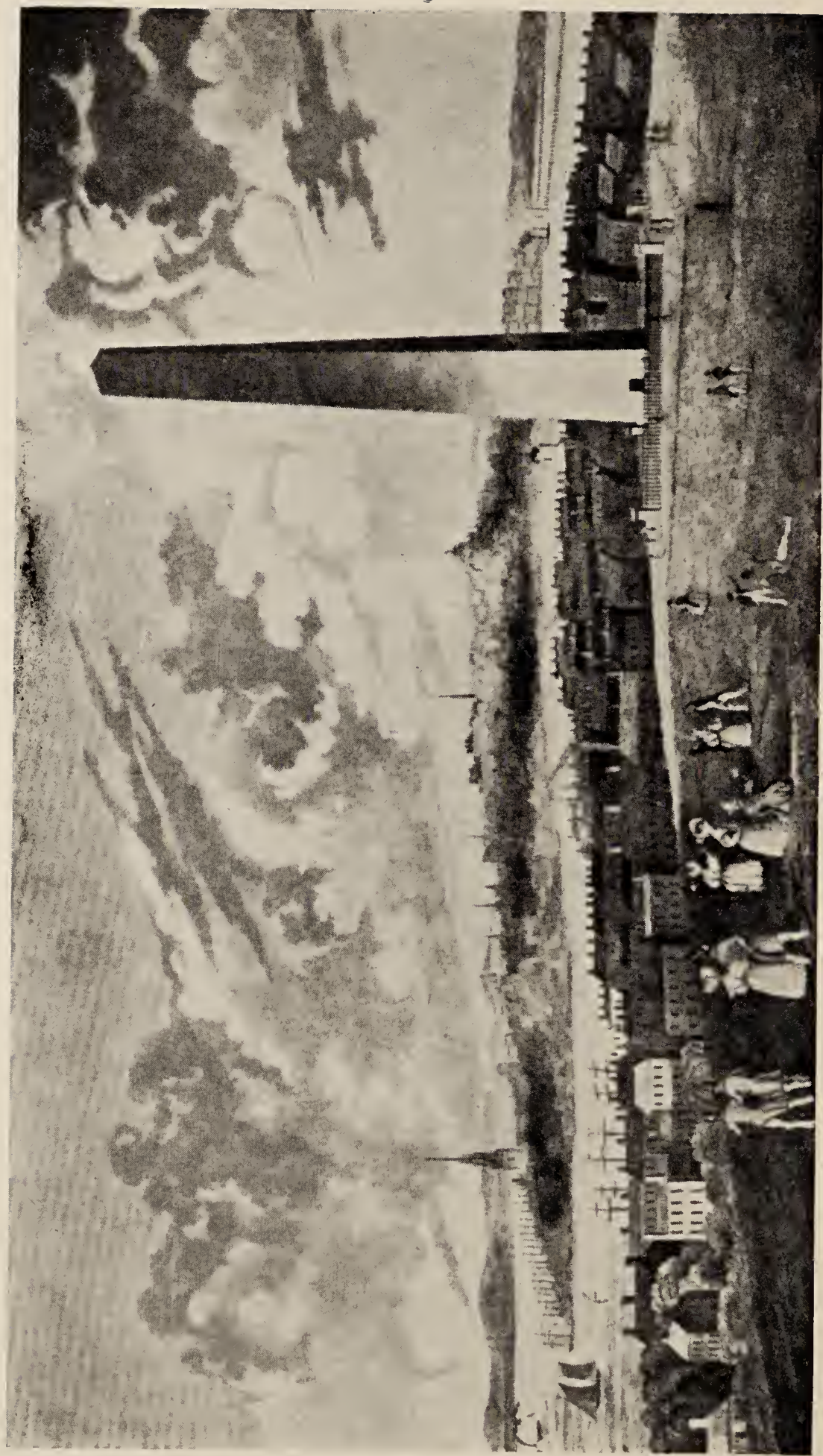
However, the delegates failed to follow the leadership of their General Court for, doubting the wisdom of such "premature action," they delayed the matter for two months and then requested the General Court to annul the resolution—which the Court did. But Virginia was also pressing for remedial measures and Alexander Hamilton was skillfully bringing pressure to bear for changes and thus, although after long delay, acrimonious discussion and side-stepping, on February 21, 1787, a resolution calling for a national convention to consider the defects of the Confederacy was passed by Congress.

It must not be thought that the delay in initiating the correction of the perilous situation existing under the Articles of Confederation was deliberate or even worthy of condemnation. The political science

of the times was such that no statesman ever thought of acting precipitately and under no circumstances would propose cutting loose from one form of government, however unsatisfactory it might be, until adequate and certain provision had been made for a better system. The old confederation had its defects but it was a very important association none the less. Out of the chaos of the disruption from the British Crown, the Articles had created and established the independence and existence of the United States. And, as Madison wrote, "Had it been hastily set aside, and had the nation embarked upon the uncertain sea of political experiment, anarchy and confusion might have ensued; for who could tell, in such case, what projects, what schemes, and what influences might arise to jeopardize those great principles of republican liberty on which the political fabric had rested from the declaration of independence to the present hour of danger and distress?"

But, while the need for caution was thus foremost, the men in public life knew that something had to be done. "It was felt and admitted by the most discerning that the failure [of the forthcoming convention] . . . to agree upon a well-balanced system of government adapted to the preexisting system of confederated states, capable of pervading the entire country with an efficient control, and essentially republican in its principles and form, would result immediately in a dissolution of the Union, and an attempt to establish a monarchical government. The consequences of such an attempt, it was frightful to contemplate. Civil war and social convulsions must inevitably ensue; for could it be supposed that the people who had fought seven years to secure their freedom, would surrender it at the dictation of a portion of the community? To count upon such surrender by peaceable means was to charge the people with preposterous madness; nay, it would have been an evidence of such imbecility on their part as to have proved them unworthy of the blessing of liberty." (—John Stetson Barry)

In May, 1787 the Convention duly assembled in Philadelphia and George Washington was chosen president. Of the sixty-five men elected delegates, fifty-five were in attendance. Few conventions of greater importance have been held. Here was a handful of men met to deliberate upon the condition of a new nation and to agree upon means of at once correcting immediate evils and providing a system by and through which a nation could grow into greatness and prosperity. As John Adams wrote, "Never was there, before the American Revolution, an instance of a nation forming its own government on the original foundations of human rights, revealed by a study of the laws of nature, and creating every civil organ agreeably to the three acts which



OLD VIEW OF BOSTON, SHOWING BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

constitute just government. Never did there exist such a scene as that on which the revolution took place in America, where the people, by their own act, without any usurpation or turn of parties, on a sudden found themselves in a state of the most civilized and complicated association, without government; and in that state formed the original convention, on grounds of undisputed equality; framed a form of civil government, founded in the rights of nature, unobscured by charters, privileges, or monopolies of power; and then bound themselves by the third and last tie of allegiance. The democratic form was the only one a people so situated could adopt."

It is not the purpose of this history to follow the deliberations of the convention or to criticise the document which was eventually produced, save to say that Massachusetts' delegates played their part well and helped frame the document which, despite the difficulties of the times, has withstood a century and a half of testing and been the foundation upon which these United States have developed.

On September 17th, 1787, the convention adopted the Constitution and submitted it to Congress which, on September 28th, submitted the document to conventions of the several states for acceptance or rejection. Nine state conventions had to ratify the proposed constitution to make it effective.

The Massachusetts convention met in Boston, January ninth and sat until February seventh. Governor Hancock was elected president, Judge William Cushing vice president, George Richards Minot secretary and Jacob Kuhn, for fifty years messenger of the General Court, messenger. Sessions were first held in the Brattle Street Meeting-house, then in the Representative's Chamber in the Old State House and, finally, in the Federal Street Church, then known as the Meeting-house on Long Lane.

The articles of the Constitution were first taken up in detail, each being thoroughly "discussed and considered with moderation, candor and deliberation"—every member having an opportunity to express himself. When the "conversation on the constitution by paragraphs" was completed, it was moved that the convention "assent and ratify" the document. This motion brought General Heath to his feet urging the delegates to deliberate with the greatest caution. "We are soon," he said "to decide on a system of government, digested, not for the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only—but in addition to these, for all those states which may hereafter rise into existence within the jurisdiction of the United States, and for millions of people yet unborn; a system of government, not for a nation of slaves, but for a people as free and virtuous as any on earth; not for a con-

quered nation, subdued to our will, but for a people who have fought, who have bled, and who have conquered—who, under the smiles of Heaven, have established their independence and sovereignty, and have taken equal rank among the nations of the earth. In short, sir, it is a system of government for ourselves, and for our children—for all that is near and dear to us in life; and on the decision of the question is suspended our political prosperity or infelicity, perhaps our existence as a nation. What can be more solemn? What can be more interesting? Everything depends upon our union. I know some have supposed that, although the union should be broken, particular states may retain their importance; but this cannot be. The strongest nerved state, even the right arm, if separated from the body, must wither. If the great union be broken, our country as a nation perishes; and if our country so perishes, it will be as impossible to save a particular state as to preserve one of the fingers of a mortified hand." Governor Bowdoin was equally emphatic in his remarks, "If," he said, "the constitution should be finally accepted and established, it will complete the temple of American liberty and, like the keystone of a grand, magnificent arch, be the bond of union to keep all the parts firm and compacted together. May this temple, sacred to liberty and virtue,—sacred to justice, the first and greatest political virtue,—be dissoluble only by the dissolution of Nature; and may this convention have the distinguished honor of erecting one of its pillars on that lasting foundation."

Notwithstanding these appeals, and others, it was evident before any vote was taken, that the sentiment of the convention was about evenly divided for and against ratification. The supporters of the constitution were not satisfied with the situation, for they knew that many of the other states, accustomed to the leadership of Massachusetts, would follow the Commonwealth's example and thus, for the purpose of initiating successful action in these other states, they considered that a close vote would be harmful and that only the ratifying of the constitution by a large majority would have the desired result.

Ill and unable to attend more than a few of the meetings of the convention, at this crisis, Governor Hancock, wrapped in flannels, took the chair in a most dramatic fashion and proposed that, if in the judgment of the Convention the Constitution had defects and amendments were thus necessary, it would be advisable to define these amendments and forward them to Congress with the vote of ratification, as a signification of the commonwealth's position that, before the matter was fully arranged, the whole instrument should be carefully revised. This proposal was agreed upon. After several more days'

discussion, on February 6th, the vote was taken and carried by one hundred and eighty seven in favor of ratification with one hundred and sixty eight opposed. The vote showed sharp geographical and occupational divisions. Maine was strongly negative, as were most of the smaller towns, while Boston and Plymouth, Puritan and Pilgrim, as well as the larger towns, particularly those with commercial and industrial interests, were strongly affirmative. The division between city and country, between agriculture and industry, even now a feature of our American life, was thus flourishing a century and a half ago.

This action of Massachusetts, narrow as the margin of victory was, was of the greatest importance. Previously six of the States had accepted the Constitution without amendment although with such reluctance that it was feared that the other six states, who had not yet held conventions, might declare against the ratification because of the difficulties inherent. But, when Massachusetts ratified with her amendments, then the way was clear for other states to do likewise and, while the Constitution might not have thus been saved from denial, it seems certain that its acceptance was greatly advanced by Massachusetts' action.

Massachusetts' amendments were drawn up in nine articles which, in substance, provided: that all the powers not expressly delegated to Congress should be reserved to the States; "that there should be one representative to every thirty thousand inhabitants until the number reached two hundred; that the powers of Congress to regulate the election of senators should be exercised only in case of the refusal or neglect of any state to act as the articles allowed; that direct taxes should be laid only in the failure of all other resources; that no commercial monopolies should be created; that trials for capital offenses should be preceded by an indictment by a grand jury in most cases; that the Supreme Judicial Court should have no jurisdiction in cases between States unless the dispute was over values of at least three thousand dollars; that all civil actions between citizens should, at the request of the parties concerned, be tried by a jury; and that Congress should never consent to any person, holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, accepting a title of nobility, or any other title or office, from any king, prince or foreign state."

Many other states proposed amendments, too, but most of them were similar to or identical with those of Massachusetts. None of them, however, seriously affected the practical operation of the Constitution or negated the great and broad principles upon which the document was based.

Massachusetts was not alone in ratifying the Constitution by the narrowest of margins. Marshall's *Life of Washington*, V. 132, reads, "So balanced were parties in some of them [the States] that even after the matter had been discussed for a considerable time, the fate of the constitution could hardly be conjectured; and so small, in many instances, was the majority in its favor, as to afford strong ground for the opinion that, had the influence of character (of the men approving it) been removed, the intrinsic merits of the instrument would not have secured its adoption. Indeed, it is scarcely to be doubted that, in some of the adopting states, a majority of the people were in opposition. In all of them, the numerous amendments which were proposed, demonstrate the reluctance with which the new government was accepted; and that a dread of dismemberment, not an approbation of the particular system under consideration, had induced an acquiescence in it."

Our own John Adams rejoiced, however, in the narrow margin with which the document prevailed, pleased that there should have been doubts of its success, rather than an overwhelming confidence in its triumph in that this condition acted as a check against innovations and all rash attempts to accomplish the impossible. The conservative element, which Boston and the other sea-port cities personified, caused the exercise of federal authority to be watched with such vigilance that all encroachments and usurpations of the sovereign power of the States, again a vital point for Massachusetts, were "nipped i' the bud." Adams wrote, in a letter home "Our constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."

In September, 1788, with the requisite number of states reporting official ratification, Congress issued orders for appointing electors who were to assemble the first Wednesday in February to vote for a president. The states were also to elect their representatives to Congress. Massachusetts was entitled to eight. At the first election, which was warmly contested, only four were chosen—Fisher Ames, George Leonard, George Partridge and George Thacher. Subsequent choice selected Elbridge Gerry, Benjamin Goodhue, Jonathan Grout and Theodore Sedgewick. The two senators elected were Tristram Dalton and Caleb Strong.

The electing of the president and vice president was of particular interest to Massachusetts because while Washington was idolized by the entire nation, Boston's John Adams was his only rival. Massachusetts' electors were William Cushing, William Shepherd, William Seaver, Walter Spooner, David Sewall, Caleb Davis, Francis Dana, Samuel Henshaw, Samuel Phillips, Jr., and Moses Gill. For several

months the situation was complicated in that it was not known whether or not Washington would leave his retirement at Mount Vernon. His first reply to invitation was uncompromisingly in the negative, but at length he was prevailed upon to accept what was represented to him as the call of duty. In February, 1789, the electors cast their ballot and Washington received sixty nine votes—the whole number cast. John Adams was given thirty four votes, one less than a majority but sufficient, according to the constitution, to give him the vice presidency. Assuming his seat as leader of the Senate, he addressed the new body in a characteristically dignified manner, congratulating them upon the “formation of a national constitution and the fair prospect of a consistent administration of a government of laws.”

It is commonly supposed that the Revolutionary War was the crucible in which the United States was formed. However, it may well be considered that the real welding together of the several diverse interests and conflicting philosophies was accomplished by the draughting, propagandizing and ratification of the Constitution, and that the period which saw the remarkable feat conceived and executed was the crisis of America. Perhaps, as Adams pointed out, the success of the Constitution lies not so much in the merits of the document, great as they are, as in the virtue of the American people. Had Americans been less stable, more unbalanced, it seems probable that chaos must have eventually followed peace, no matter what constitutions were framed.

CHAPTER XXIX

Shays' Rebellion

Very rapidly, the Great Depression made it painfully evident to the people of Massachusetts that the realization of independence did not automatically bring about prosperity and happiness. But it required several years of bitter experiences for the folk to discover that there was nothing magical about freedom, that the great ideal did not of itself bring a new social order. In fact, conditions not only economically, but socially, shortly became far worse than they had been under the Crown. "We are out of the frying pan and into the fire with a vengeance," wrote one Bostonian to his brother back home.

While all the new states had their troubles, the old colony was probably in the most desperate situation since, not being founded upon the stable basis of agriculture, as most of the other states were, it had to look to its four major activities for support—trade, commerce, ship-building and fishing. These were the very four American occupations which the great depression curtailed the most. Thus, since even agriculture in Massachusetts was dependent upon the Big Four for its own prosperity, even the state's farms went down into the depths of hardship.

During the first years of the war, when the state was directly engaged in fighting the British, the citizens lived most economically. They knew what war meant. But, when the theatre shifted to the south, a great change developed. Instead of pursuing their admirable stoicism, a new attitude gained general encouragement, a spirit of unrest, the liberalism that a sustained armed conflict generates, the diversion of large numbers of men from normal and productive activity, created an era of extravagance. Money flowed into the State; specie, not paper money. The British Army and the French Navy spent gold while in Boston; trade with Havana and other West Indian ports under French control, poured in more gold, as did the profits of merchantmen captured by Yankee privateersmen and sold in France and Spain.

When the war ended, the spirit of self-indulgence still continued—

for a while. But it rapidly faded as gold and silver were withdrawn from the Colonies and from circulation. Payments for European goods, which the nation badly needed, had to be made in specie, so the metals rapidly flew overseas. And, as the condition began to grow serious, private individuals saw a chance to make a handsome profit by hoarding specie. Before long, all the money in circulation was mostly that of the State's scanty paper.

Hence from every town in the State, demands began to pour in upon the General Court for more and more paper money. This meant inflation and that word was as much of a red flag to the wealthy citizens of Boston as it is today to the denizens of Wall Street. For example, the town meeting of Pelham, on January 26, 1786, passed a resolution, calling upon the governor to make a "Bank of Paper Money" and passed the vote amid turbulent talk of "the Boston merchants surrounded by their money bags and their bottles of old Madeira, the General Court sitting arrogantly in the State House and stupidly doing nothing, and Governor James Bowdoin and his military retinue, and the whole tribe of blood-sucking judges and lawyers."

Captain Shays was the man who uttered these words (in Walter A. Dyer's *Sprigs of Hemlock*) and the military hero of the little hill town concluded by saying, "Let them have their day and enjoy it while they can! The time is coming when a taste of cold lead will make them sing a different tune, or my name's not Dan Shays."

Indeed, jealousy, pride, lethargy and economic conditions had created a serious crisis, particularly in western and central Massachusetts; there was no business at all; labor could not find employment and about the only means of "buying and selling" was by barter.

But this was not the whole of the matter. The debt situation was even more disturbing. In sober fact, at least half of the entire population of the State was hopelessly enmeshed in debt. In the free and easy days, when money was plentiful, it had been most easy to borrow. But, with money practically extinct, it was impossible to pay even interest, let alone capital. Consequently, the courts became clogged with suits. Temporary expedient after expedient was attempted but all broke down.

The situation was made desperate because the modern bankruptcy laws did not exist and, no matter how many creditors a man or estate might have, the first creditor to obtain an execution was entitled to first satisfaction. Accordingly, even creditors who might have been lenient enough in ordinary times, found it necessary to bring suit before his loan was lost by some other creditor obtaining a judgment first.

Since no cash was obtainable, a judgment of the court was at once turned into an execution, which meant a public sale of all that a family owned, save for the tools with which he earned his livelihood and such few articles of clothing and household furnishing as the rugged nature of the hour considered absolutely necessary. Consequently, family after family witnessed farms and homes sold over their heads and sold, moreover, at ridiculously low prices; for, since there was no money, there could be little bidding.

And, last of all, should the farcical sale not yield enough to satisfy the judgment, the person of the debtor could be seized and jailed—and jails in 1785 were not the steam-heated electrically-lighted and well-ventilated institutions they are today. Hundreds of debtors were packed into the prisons and, for every man inside the walls, at least another one hundred walked in fear and trembling that they too would soon lose property and liberty. Consequently, a debt in 1785 meant virtual slavery to the majority of the citizens, many of whom were discharged soldiers and sailors who returned home with nothing but practically worthless certificates.

All through 1785 the situation grew ever more serious. Every tavern was a hot-bed of agitation and every public meeting was occupied not merely with expressions of woe but of threats against the politicians, the lawyers and the courts, allegedly controlled by speculators in Boston. It was openly said that it was all a Tory plot to compel the State to return to the Crown, while other victims of the hour found relief in declaring that a handful of rich men in Boston had formed a group, and were driving the common-folk to despair so that, when the crisis came, the few could step up and calmly carve the lands of the State into huge estates over which they would rule like princes.

The explosion came inevitably. When the General Court adjourned in July 1786 without accomplishing any relief of value, the unfortunate folks of the central and western part of the State with one accord uprose and began to take the law in their hands.

To their minds, the matter was simple enough. Only through the courts, the naive folk reasoned, can executions be granted and our property taken away from us. Therefore, let us prevent the courts from sitting and we will thus retain our property and force the next General Court to find a solution of our difficulties. Of course, as is obvious, the people did not then realize that obstruction of the courts would compel the government not to grant them relief but to invoke military force to scatter them and reopen the courts.

Taught by the patriots of a decade earlier that the best manner of organizing resistance effectively was by conventions, the first move of the court-closers was to hold conventions. One, in Leicester, for Worcester County, August fifteenth, seated delegates from nearly forty towns. This convention contended itself with talk and with passing resolutions. But, the Hampshire County Convention, meeting at Hatfield on August 29th, acted vigorously. They closed the court at Northampton (The same town, which was later the home of President Calvin Coolidge).

Governor Bowdoin responded within a few days—it took time to carry news when there were no telephones or telegraphs or press associations—by issuing a proclamation which called upon all civil and military officers to force the courts to remain open.

This was a mere paper business and the rapidly growing ranks of the court-closers only gained impetus from it. They had discovered two leaders; Luke Day of West Springfield and Daniel Shays of Pelham. Both men were officers of Washington's Army and both seem to have been every active, although Day has now been almost forgotten and the whole affair credited to Shays—possibly because he had the better name for remembrance, like Revere and Dawes on the 19th of April, 1775.

Day and Shays decided that the next move of the court-closers would be upon the Worcester Sitting of Common Pleas and the Sitting of the General Session—both scheduled for September fifth.

Under the leadership of Captain Adam Wheeler of Hubbardston, on the night of the fourth, a body of armed men of unknown numbers, walked into the town and seized the court house without a voice being raised in protest.

General Artemas Ward was Chief Justice. The old warrior herded together his associates and, just before noon on the fifth, walked up to the building. The first men he encountered were soldiers of his old regiment and they, through force of habit, fell back before him. But, at the doors of the court-room, the Judges were halted by purposeful men who presented a hedge of bayonets.

Ward ordered the commanding officer of the guard to answer for this hostility. Wheeler replied that he had come to obtain justice by shutting down the courts. After Ward had declared that it was his business to be just, Wheeler answered that he had come not to talk but to do something and ordered his men to charge the Judges.

It is alleged that the bayonets actually pierced the clothes of the general but he stood firm and by the very force of his personality compelled the men to withdraw. But do more than drop their bayonets

they would not, and, after a talk in which he warned that they were compounding treason and that they could expect but one consequence, the gallows, he shepherded his associates and walked slowly away—to the tavern. There he formally opened Court, issued orders for the militia to be called to its protection and at once adjourned until the morrow. The next day no militia appeared, but the command of Captain Wheeler was doubled and tripled in numbers. Asked why the militia had not yet responded, Ward was told by its red-faced officers that their men were too much in favor with the court-closers to risk being put under arms. Ward could do nothing but close the Sittings and went home, after appointing November 21st and December fifth for the dates of the next Sittings.

A few days later, the State's then Supreme Court came to Worcester. Flushed by their success, the court-closers, nevertheless did not choose to meddle with the upper Court and so stood about and watched them pass down more than two hundred judgments on suits for debts. Thus, this high court also drew upon themselves the waxing wrath of the western counties.

From Worcester, the Court went to Springfield, opening on September 26th. To protect them, General Shepard of the town had called out several hundred militia but the court-closers were also present in even greater force and, although the Court did sit for three days, it finally adjourned without transacting any business.

On September 27th, the General Court assembled in special session to consider the crisis. Even in their ranks, sympathy with the court-closers was rife and thus it was impossible to have a firm stand taken against the rebels. On the other hand, the forces of law and order were insistent that the courts be maintained. Consequently after months of talk, both sides won some ground. The forces of order won stronger powers for the governor, empowering him to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* on the persons of the rebels and to arrest them and to imprison them without bail. Also, severe penalties were provided for the holding of any "riotous" meetings, whether armed or not. The sympathetic side won much ground for betterment—payment of taxes in goods rather than money was authorized under certain conditions, the costs of civil cases were cut, a new money bill was enacted and a full pardon was offered to all rebels who would desist from further action.

But these were too late to stem the tide. Even while the General Court was passing these acts, the court-closers' leaders began the active organization of an army of "minute men"—soldiers with musket and ammunition prepared, ready to rally instantly.



THE CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIÈRE

On November 21, the date General Ward, had fixed, for the reopening of the closed courts in Worcester, a well organized body of troops moved into town and seized the court house again. Since Governor Bowdoin and his staff had made no attempt to prepare resistance or to protect the court, the Sittings were again postponed. The same thing happened again on December fifth, the second date appointed by General Ward.

The militia officers in Worcester and Hampshire County were willing enough to oppose the court-closers, now open rebels, but, since they feared that they could not gather their men, they dared not risk an order being refused. So, they called upon Governor Bowdoin to send them troops from other and less disaffected counties. Bowdoin at once requested his Council to order this done, but so great was the fear which the open rebellion had created, that the Council thought it best not to weaken Boston by sending militia upstate. Perhaps the gravity of the situation can be realized when, as many historians say, the real reason for the Council's refusing to take the requested action was that they feared that Shays and Day would shortly march upon Boston and sack the city. Thus, they wanted the sea-coast county militia "kept to home," ready for the feared emergency.

This fear was not at all groundless for, at a council in Worcester early in December, the rebels agreed to gather in Worcester and, as soon as a sufficient force was assembled, to march upon Boston and liberate all the debt-prisoners there. When word of this reached Boston, militia guards were thrown about the city and Major General Brooks was ordered to hold the militia of Middlesex County ready to attack the rebel army as it marched in from Worcester.

On December 6th, Captain Shays marched into Worcester with men from Hampshire County and found nearly one thousand men waiting for him. That day was the high tide of Shays' Rebellion; the rebels had complete possession of the town.

Whether or not Shays would have marched upon Boston and thus precipitated bloodshed, can never be known for, as the rebels waited for additional strength, the weather became severe and, instead of marching eastward, Shays disbanded the poorer part of his troops, because he could not feed so many, and marched the rest away over to Springfield, where he closed the Courts there on December 26th.

This proved to be the last straw for the Boston authorities. A fund was quickly raised among nervous wealthy Bostonians to assist the empty State Treasury in providing sinews of war and General Ben Lincoln was placed in command of some three thousand men and sent off to Worcester, where another thousand were to join him.

Lincoln marched into Worcester on January 22nd, was joined by the forces he expected and, under armed sentries and flanking patrols the oft adjourned Worcester Sittings were at last held.

Meanwhile, Shays' rebels were not having an easy time of it. The winter weather was very severe and they must have suffered terrible hardships, for they were both ill-clothed and ill-fed. Their worst lack was that of arms and ammunition so, accordingly, Shays and Day planned to attack the United States arsenal at Springfield and so to supply their need.

Shays marched down from one side of the Connecticut, expecting Day to catch the arsenal on the flank from the other by crossing the River. It was an excellent plan but, due to delays, poor intelligence systems, deficient supplies and raw troops, foredoomed to failure.

Day never appeared, but at four o'clock on the afternoon of January 25th, Shays led his men down from Wilbraham. About the arsenal, General Shepard had drawn up his militia. The two companies—for they were little more, faced each other, silently.

At a hundred yards distance, Shepard ordered a cannon fired over the heads of the rebels. Still they came on—they were well-salted with continental army veterans. At fifty yards, Shepard ordered cannons fired off to the right and left flanks. Still they came on. Finally, though loath to shed blood, Shepard, with the two forces almost touching, ordered a fourth shot fired, this one in earnest.

Instantly, like so many undisciplined boys terrified at the sight of blood, Shays' men broke and ran—broke without firing a single shot. Shays tried in vain to rally his rebels but failed dismally. So ordering an assembly the next morning at Ludlow, he rode away in the snow, his chin sunk in his collar and despair in his heart.

Had Shepard charged, the revolt would have ended then and there, bloodily, perhaps, but definitely. However, he was alarmed at the strength of the rebels and, fearing Day's idle forces on the other side of the river, stood still, guarding the arsenal and calling upon Lincoln in Worcester to march to the defense of Springfield.

Lincoln responded immediately, putting the van of his three thousand in Springfield within twenty four hours and having all his force in the town by the 27th.

And Lincoln was not content to sit at ease in Springfield and to permit the rebels to reunite. He at once sent out patrols, discovered the concentration at Ludlow, and put his columns into motion. From Ludlow, the rebels toiled through snow and cold to Petersham, a full thirty miles of desperation but Lincoln was driving his militia, and on the 4th of February, he caught up with them and scattered them

definitely and finally. It was not a battle at all, just the melting away of the rebels before the militia like snow-flakes before a stream of steam.

Armed resistance of course did not end immediately. Some few remnants of Shays' force collected here and there in the hills and carried on a straggling sort of guerilla activity. But they were unimportant. What was important, however was that, though the rebellion had collapsed in so far as armed resistance to government was concerned, the spirit which had bred the assembling of the rebels was still afire.

It is difficult to over-estimate the seriousness of the situation. Washington himself was concerned about it, writing frequently for information, and both he and many other leaders of the new nation dreaded the rebellion as a symptom of what might occur in all the several states.

Fortunately, the few cannon shots, the arrest of the officers, their trial and conviction (although they were eventually pardoned) aroused the State to the full appreciation of the situation and thus caused remedies to be adopted. Immediately, the courts became easier upon defendants and held creditors to more reasonable demands. Shortly, debtors were all released from prison and thereafter, while a creditor might still seize any property of his debtor he could discover, he could not touch his person.

The clemency extended by the Government to the rebels also eased the situation for, although the men, particularly the officers were guilty of treason (any unsuccessful rebel is) the State was well aware that the bulk of the citizens were in sympathy with the culprits and thus would resent any summary punishment.

And then too, as the revolt collapsed, the new water of better commercial and agricultural conditions was beginning to creep back into the dry channels of trade. Thus, before long, debts could once more be paid and, as is always the case, when a creditor knows that he can be repaid on demand, he is in no haste at all to call his money in. Thus the trouble gradually faded and peace returned on the crest of the wave of prosperity.

There is still another feature of Shays' Rebellion which is frequently overlooked, and that is the effect it had upon bringing about the Constitution of the United States. It was patent to all observers that a weak confederation could not maintain order permanently. At any time a serious revolt might break out and no single state could hope to cope with a genuine revolution.

Thus, when economic conditions finally brought about the framing of the Constitution; its adoption, which was bitterly fought in every state, was greatly aided by the memory of what Shays' thousand odd men had nearly accomplished. Massachusetts, in particular, was not enthusiastic about surrendering its sovereign rights and privileges to a strong federal Government which, if it was to be of any value whatsoever, would have to be supreme over each state. But, as considerations of commerce and industry were paramount, the statesmen, the orators, and the delegates, found in Shays plenty of material with which to convince their constituencies of the value of the change from confederation to federation. Money and tariff and exchange rates and duties and the like are not strong arguments to the voter but the thought of Shays' men and the court-closing days, together with the memory of debtors packed in jails "like sprats in a jar," must have helped very greatly to sway their votes.

Thus, perhaps after all, Shays and Day and their ragged, hungry, starving men, did serve the United States well. They failed of their aim but their example at least helped to make the Constitution possible.

CHAPTER XXX

The Rise of Federalism

While the Revolution was in progress, political activity and asperity were exceptionally and naturally considerable. It could not be otherwise, for the public policy, plus the fortunes of war, naturally involved the fortunes, persons and even lives of those who either opposed or supported the course of events. When peace came, and the burning problems of the Confederation and the Constitution appeared, unfolded and were settled, the spirit of political rancor and vehemence was still further evident and intensified. Thus, when 1789 saw the new government set into operation, and a general wave of confidence and prosperity begin to form, folks found it very difficult immediately to cast aside their political habits and conduct the politics of the hour in the new spirit of friendly discussion and peaceful compromise which the Constitution made possible. Passionate quarrels originated and were developed and many outbreaks of feeling appeared, sufficient in number and intensity, at least to justify the fears of the conservative element of the nation that anarchy and consequent ruin were perennially "just around the corner."

Of the two major political parties which were formed, the one favorable to the Constitution styled itself the Federal Party and members of it became popularly known as the Federalists. The opposing party, basing its existence upon opposition to certain principles and articles in the Constitution, was at first known as the Anti-Federal Party, or the Anti-Federalists. However, from the very first, its members disliked the name, on the ground that it did not describe them properly since they were not opposed to a Federal Government but merely opposed to the form and interpretation of the Constitution. Some members called themselves Anti-constitutionalists but, as time passed, and points of differences became blunted and the popularity and success of the Constitution certain, they assumed the name of Republicans. Their principal planks at the time were that the powers given to the President and to Congress were too great and extensive, and that the powers themselves were illegally

given in that they were obtained from the weakening of the states, a process which, they considered, was against American principles.

While, at first, there was really no great difference between the two parties, save that the one supported the Constitution for the lack of a better scheme, and the other opposed the Constitution since it was not good enough, in their opinion, there were naturally extremists in both camps—Federalists who contended that the Constitution was not sufficiently centralizing and left too great powers and freedom to the several states in particular and to the people themselves in general; and Republicans who believed exactly the opposite and insisted that the entire Constitution was illegal and invalid since the action of the convention which framed it had been unauthorized in that it had been elected for the purpose of revising and amending the Articles of Confederation and not for the purpose of draughting an entirely new Constitution.

Boston, from the very beginning was Federalist, but the back country, particularly the area concerned or affected by Shays' Rebellion was strongly Republican. However, at no time did the disputes and wrangles between the two parties go far enough ever to awaken any general desire to abrogate the Constitution. In fact, all of Massachusetts went wild with enthusiasm when the personification of the new government, President George Washington, visited the State on a good will tour in the autumn of 1789.

It is true that Governor Hancock did his best to snub the President, refusing to go to call upon him, until the very last moment, and then pleading illness as an excuse for not sharing in the tumultuous welcome which the cities and towns of the State gave the President as he made what was in effect a triumphal tour. This action of Hancock was in reality a sort of test case—an attempt to determine whether or not the Governor was superior in rank and position within his own borders to the new President of the Federal Union. But this was simply a case to settle the rank of President and Governor and had nothing to do with either the popularity of Washington or the value of the Constitution. The enthusiasm with which Washington was greeted, as he visited the scenes of his military triumphs in 1775-1776, was too spontaneous and too generous for any politician to stand in the way. The General Court was well aware of the precise condition of the times when, in their memorial address to the visiting President, after line upon line of compliment upon his services and success in the War, they said, "We now have the pleasure of seeing you in a still more exalted station, to which you have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of a free, virtuous and grateful

country. From that attachment which you manifestly discovered while in your military command to the civil liberties of your country, we do assure ourselves that you will ever retain this great object in your view, and that your administration will be happy and prosperous."

Party animosity received a severe blow when, in 1789, Congress adopted twelve out of the sixteen amendments which the ratifying state conventions offered. Virginia and New York continued the party agitation for some time but, in Massachusetts, comparative calm soon became general because this State, earlier perhaps, than her sisters, began to experience the good effects of the new government. A period of peace and prosperity began which for several years increased steadily. Manufacturing and commerce grew greatly as mutual confidence was restored. Trade with other nations, the backbone of the Commonwealth's fortune, was particularly bettered as the credit of the national government and its consequent influence abroad increased under the wise and efficient regulations of the federal departments.

Massachusetts, of course, still labored under a crushing burden of debt—the federal debt at the close of the Revolution was some forty-two millions plus twenty five millions more due to men for services rendered to the nation during the struggle. Massachusetts itself had a debt of about five millions, plus the liability to pay the demands of those who held the paper money the Commonwealth had issued during the struggle. Not only was interest upon the state debt in arrears, but the total available resources of the Commonwealth were inadequate to discharge the debt. Hence bad matters were made worse by the issuance of notes to creditors, notes which were sold at a ruinous discount to speculators by creditors whose necessities required the sacrifice. Yet, despite this burden, the Commonwealth, under the six successive years of Governor Hancock, 1778 to 1793 inclusive, adopted many wise provisions which, out of its poverty, promoted the advancement of the people as a whole, and agriculture, fishing, industry and education in particular.

Meanwhile, the federal government, under the leadership of Hamilton, was moving to untangle the financial knot. In 1790, the national government agreed to assume nearly twenty two million dollars of state debts—Massachusetts' share being four millions. However, with the principle being once established, Massachusetts was not satisfied with the distribution, since the state considered that it had actually contributed far more proportionately than any other state, excepting South Carolina. Washington appointed a federal

Commission to investigate the matter with the result that in 1794, another million and a half of Massachusetts' debt was taken over by the federal government, in addition to the original four millions. This sum, together with \$2,000,000 advanced by Congress during the war, left the State's war bill about eleven and a half millions—a gigantic sum—for the time—which this Commonwealth eventually paid by incredible exertion and sacrifice, although for years the paper of Massachusetts was offered at depreciated rates. Lottery schemes were proposed and opposed and defeated, dreams of great revenue from the sale of wild lands in Maine proved barren, but at length finances were adjusted and the credit of Massachusetts firmly established.

During this period of public embarrassment, private expenditures for development of the State were considerable. Turnpikes were laid out and while the projected canal from Boston to Springfield and on to the Hudson did not materialize, yet in 1793, the Middlesex Canal was projected and built, Loammi Baldwin, James Sullivan and James Winthrop pushing the project through. Governor Hancock caused a revision of the criminal law, substituting confinement at hard labor in place of the inherited public punishments of older days. Castle Island was the first site of a prison but the State Prison at Charlestown shortly replaced it. Observance of the Sabbath, that is, the legal provisions which were honored but never strictly observed, were liberalized somewhat and public education was advanced; laws passed in 1789 required all towns in the State having two hundred families or more, to support a grammar school and, in addition, to employ teachers who had been college educated and could teach Greek and Latin. For smaller towns, this Latin and Greek requirement was not made. The same year saw also the first break in the old system of confining public education to boys; that year girls were first "allowed to attend the public schools two hours per day."

In the fall of 1793, Governor Hancock died, and the lieutenant-governor, then seventy three, was none other than Sam Adams, "first of the immortal patriot trio: Sam Adams, John Hancock and James Otis." Adams was elected the following year and held office until 1797.

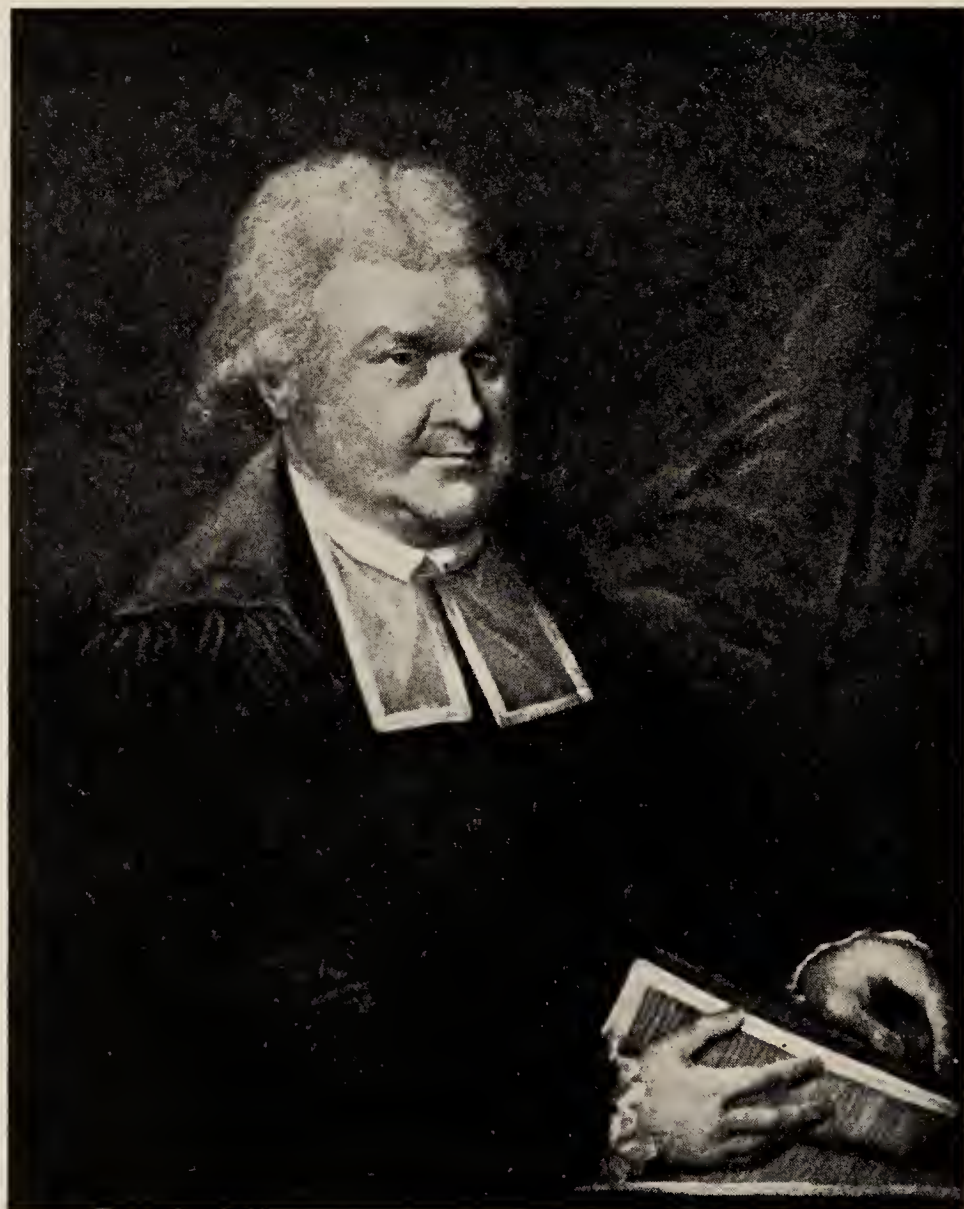
A staunch advocate of state rights, Adams had been active in fighting the federal government's alleged attempts to encroach upon the prerogatives of the states. He did not hesitate however, as governor to take the oath of office. "I shall be called upon," he said, "to make a declaration . . . that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign and independent state.

I shall be called upon to make another declaration with the same solemnity—to support the Constitution of the United States. I see no inconsistency in this; for it must be intended that these constitutions should mutually aid and support each other.”

The political peace of the state, which had blossomed under Hancock, was rudely shattered under Adams by difficulties which arose between the United States and Great Britain and France. France, after a series of sanguinary episodes, had declared herself a republic and soon broke out into war against England. This put the United States in a quandary. According to the treaty with France, “French privateers and their prizes were entitled to shelter in American ports” and this hospitality was, by the same treaty, expressly forbidden to “the enemies of France.” Further, the United States was firmly bound to protect the French possessions in America against aggression. Washington, knowing that with Great Britain at war with France, these obligations of the United States would, sooner or later, draw this nation into a European war, entanglement which he feared and dreaded, met the crisis by issuing a proclamation of strict neutrality which virtually annulled the treaties with France.

By a majority of the American people, Washington’s prudent course was approved, although there was a violent reaction against Washington, for the people of America had been in strictest sympathy with the French Revolution and, while the support of many Americans had been lost by the Reign of Terror, yet there remained a sufficient number of French supporters to give substance to the attacks being made upon Washington, the most serious perhaps being that, by denying France, Washington was leaning towards Britain or, at the least, exhibiting monarchist tendencies.

This unfortunate business aroused anew the flames of Federalism and Anti-Federalism. The original differences had practically disappeared. Hamilton’s funding system, supported by Washington and the Federalists had, however, kept the fires burning and now, when the Federalists, backing Washington against France, became active once more, the Republicans, always adverse to the administration, seized upon the trouble as a heaven sent opportunity. Bitter animosity appeared as the new partisan differences widened. Each party accused the other of acting so as to destroy the nation and its liberties. Federalists were accused of opposing France only because of their love for England; said to hate the mass of common Americans, and alleged to be contemplating a monarchy for America in preference to “those principles of democracy which had been so nobly contended for in the war for independence.” Washington himself was



Increase Sumner

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT, 1782-97
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1797-99

(From a portrait by Major John Johnson, painted in the robes worn by the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court until about 1792. In 1797, after he was chosen governor the portrait was retouched and the hair redressed and powdered as he then wore it. See Memoir of Increase Sumner by his son W. H. Sumner)

stigmatized by his enemies with such charges as these. Equally bitter were the allegations of the Federalists against the Republicans. Jefferson, the party leader, was viciously attacked and the entire party was accused of planning to carry out in America, no matter at what cost, "the wild and extravagant political theories then deluging the soil of France with blood."

In 1795 the controversy attained its greatest heights as the problem of the treaty negotiated by John Jay of New York with Great Britain in 1794, came up. Ever since peace had been signed, England had attempted to cripple the commerce of the United States. Really unjust and discriminatory regulations were enforced which reduced our traders to extremities far worse than they had suffered in the days preceding the Revolution. In addition, the British Navy, by her impressment of seamen from American ships—on the pretext that such pressed men were British subjects—created bad blood as well as international difficulty. Not only naturalized Americans, British born, but American citizens by birth were dragged from our ships and forced to serve upon British men-of-war. Public indignation reached such a height at this indignity that, seeking to prevent war, Washington had dispatched Jay, a man of great accomplishments, to London to make a treaty which would relieve the situation.

While Jay was busy in London, agitation for his recall was rife. Boston, at a public meeting, censured the business as "betraying a pusillanimity unbecoming the executive of an independent republic." And long before the provisions of the treaty were known, it was decried as an evil which could not be endured. Of course, hostility to Great Britain was far from being eradicated in America—it still exists, for that matter, today—and there was a large class of influential and wealthy men, "clad in English broadcloth and Irish linen, importing their conveniences from England and their politics from France," who considered "England as the Natural Enemy not only of the United States but the whole World."

When an abstract of Jay's treaty was finally published in 1795, the country was torn with indignation. Boston at once denounced the treaty as "injurious to our commercial interests, and derogatory to the honor and independence of the country." Interestingly enough, another meeting was shortly held in Boston, which expressed opinions directly opposed to the first meeting's.

Boston's reversal of opinion, in part—it was really a strictly class affair, the merchants supporting the treaty and the "common people, who had nothing to lose" opposing it—was indicative of the situation all over the country. As influential, and wealthy, folks

reflected and made themselves heard, the tide of opinion turned in favor of the treaty and it was duly but with difficulty ratified by the Senate and signed by Washington.

However, when the news reached Boston—and other cities—popular indignation leaped out and rioting endured for several days. Houses were attacked, the attorney general and other officers were assaulted, and Jay was burned in effigy. Governor Adams, himself opposed to the treaty, declined to act to suppress the tumult, deeming it “a mere watermelon frolic—the harmless amusement of young persons.”

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Federalism continued to gain in popularity in Massachusetts, probably largely because the prosperity which the firm central government brought to the merchants finally began to filter down to the lower middle classes and to the agricultural interests. This spread of the party's strength was exhibited in the state election of 1796. Sam Adams, more anti-Federalist than anything else, was opposed for re-election by Increase Sumner, the Federalist candidate. To the surprise of everyone, Sumner carried the central and western parts of the State, the very stronghold of the opposition party, the area concerned in Shays' Rebellion. Adams was too generally popular, however, to be defeated but, the next year, when Adams' advanced age prohibited him from being a candidate yet again, Sumner, in 1797, was elected governor, thus firmly establishing the Federalists in control of Massachusetts. Another citizen of Massachusetts, John Adams, a Federalist, too, succeeded Washington earlier the same year and thus, as Adams was known to be friendly to the shipping and commercial interests of his native state, New England confidently anticipated that, being so strongly united to the Federal Party, which could best serve its interests, an epoch of great prosperity would ensue.

Unfortunately, such was not to be the case very long, for no sooner was John Adams in office than his enemies began to accuse him of being too aristocratic and too favorably inclined to “perfidious Albion.” This criticism gained strength as events forced Adams practically to wage a war with France, England's enemy. The French trouble, inherited from Washington, became intensified when the French expressed the determination of treating pressed American seamen, found on captured British vessels, as pirates. This was a crowning insult, and Pinckney, minister to France, demanded his passports and came home. Adams caused preparations to be made for the war which he feared and, although the expense entailed was considerable, Massachusetts, among other States supported him warmly.

Adams made a strong effort for peace in 1797, however, by sending Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry, of Massachusetts, as commissioners to France to adjust matters, if possible, peaceably. The French received the commission so coldly that Pinckney and Marshall quit their mission at once; Gerry, however, with New England stubbornness, remained "on the job" in an essay to avoid an open rupture and to keep the way clear for a reconciliation.

The treatment of the Commissioners was received in America with great indignation and, for a season, political animosities were forgotten as America united to prepare for war. Washington was placed at the head of an army of twenty thousand men; American ships were given the delectable authority to seize vessels of France, letters of marque and reprisal were issued and the celebrated alien and sedition laws were passed. All these events, particularly those that opened the way for the ambitious seamen of the Commonwealth to risk their blood in the balance against riches, delighted Massachusetts, and Federalism flowered, reaching its point of greatest development. Elsewhere, Adams was flayed by the opposition, accused of all manner of political crimes. But in Massachusetts he was a hero, as is shown by the fact that Sumner was reelected governor of the State in 1799 by a very large majority principally because he was a supporter of Adams and exemplified the Federal Party.

In contrast to the national turmoil, Massachusetts these few years of peace, of a kind, was politically quiet internally. Commerce was vigorous, internal improvements were progressing, education was rapidly advanced and, with a minimum of intramural legislation needed, the citizens of the Commonwealth were abundantly satisfied with themselves and their State government.

Nationally, the years about 1800 were remarkable by a virtual war with France. American ships, among which Boston ships were numerous and active, captured many French ships and in October, 1800, the sloop-of-war *Boston*, commanded by Captain George Little of Massachusetts, captured the French corvette, *Berceau*, after a brilliant two hour action. This naval battle would unquestionably have led to open and formal war had not Bonaparte, as first consul, superseded the French Directory. He, Napoleon, not wishing to have too much war on his hands at once, and seeing no profit to be made in quarreling with America, opened negotiations and peace was reestablished.

In April, 1800, Caleb Strong, Federalist candidate was elected to succeed Moses Gill, the lieutenant governor who took office following Sumner's untimely death, over Elbridge Gerry, the Republican Party

candidate. Strong was again elected but, upon each occasion, his shrinking majority over the Republican Party's candidates testified that even in Massachusetts, the Federalists were losing strength in sympathy with the national condition.

Adams had won considerable support, considering the unfortunately stiff and "aristocratic nature" of the man, by his firmness with France, but the latter part of his administration caused him virtually to begin the wreck of his party. The Alien and Sedition laws were the keynote of the difficulty. These acts were passed to make it possible for the President to deport "any aliens he might judge dangerous to peace and safety; to apprehend, secure, or remove all resident aliens, natives, or citizens of hostile nations; and to sustain prosecutions in the courts for such publications as might be considered libellous upon the national government." The trial, fine and imprisonment of several persons so charged, awakened a wide rebellion against the laws and aroused a deep antipathy for the Federalist Party which supported them. Even strong Federalists considered the laws unwise and unnecessary. Several states passed resolutions denouncing the laws but Massachusetts managed to speak in support of them.

However, in 1800, such was the national feeling on the subject, Jefferson, Republican candidate, defeated Adams.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Fall of Federalism: The War of 1812

When Thomas Jefferson assumed office, adopting the famous spoils system and giving the United States its first "New Deal," Massachusetts, being the last stronghold of the Federalist Party, entered upon difficult times. At home things were peaceful enough, for the times, but nationally and internationally, they soon could hardly have been worse.

At the very first, however, Massachusetts was agreeably surprised by Jefferson's moderate course. Perhaps, New England in 1801, applied the old proverb, "Expect the worst, and you'll never be disappointed." The worst that could be expected was friendliness with France and enmity against England. Naturally, such a course would be approved by America as a whole but, positively, it was against the interests of Massachusetts.

As early as 1793, Massachusetts chose between France and England. While the reasons for this are, on the surface obscure, the fundamentals are not. Ostensibly, Boston should have given French Revolutionists a helping hand, particularly since British interests were anti-American and the British Navy repeatedly committed depredations and provoked hard feelings at every opportunity. However, underneath this unpleasantness, there remained the hard fact of Bostonian aristocracy. During the Revolution, Boston merchants had aided and abetted American radicalism but, with the war won, it was time to make money again and anything which tended to upset business again, such as French Jacobinism, was anathema. And added to this factor, there was the broad, everlasting and inescapable fact that London was the world's financial center. Before the Reign of Terror, French bankers were available for American exporters but, when France "went mad," American money was safe only in London.

These sentiments were clearly displayed when, in 1794, Massachusetts' embattled merchants contributed to the averting of war with England by supporting Jay's treaty, despite the mob reaction in their very front dooryards. And, from then on, until 1799, the period when

Alexander Hamilton dictated the foreign as well as the financial policies of the first two administrations, Massachusetts Federalists were all powerful, because Hamilton had ears only for the celebrated Essex Junto. These men, almost a clan, saw American politics and finances from the solitary view of the merchant marine and they "played the game" with Hamilton (and Washington and Adams). Their names tell the whole story: George Cabot, Stephen Higginson, John Lowell, Jonathan Jackson, Timothy Pickering and Fisher Ames—to mention the most important—merchants and financiers every one of them.

But with Jefferson and his new deal, the picture was changed. The Essex Junto was nationally impotent and everyone in New England expected the worse to happen immediately. But Jefferson, hated as he soon became to be in New England, really had the best interests, as he saw them, of the nation at heart, and he moved with caution, avoiding any immediate difficulty with England. Massachusetts was further appeased by his continuing Hamilton's fishing bounty and other measures. And then, when he chose two cabinet officers from the Bay State, and exalted the American eagle by forcing the Barbary pirates to honor the Stars and Stripes, by means of an epic campaign, Massachusetts was so charmed that, despite Federalist ravings, the Commonwealth gave him her electoral vote in 1804.

But, at last, as the Jeremiahs of the Old Bay State had long predicted, the picture changed. In 1806, Monroe and Pinckney, joint American commissioners, were sent to England to attempt to obtain an amicable settlement of the differences between the two nations. Upon most points, agreement was reached but, Britain proving determined not to forego the alleged right to make impressments upon the high seas, the negotiations finally came to an unsatisfactory conclusion.

This situation was bad enough but, in November, Napoleon complicated it by issuing his famous Berlin decree and, in retaliation, Britain extended the operation of previous orders-in-council. Both were substantially alike; they rendered American, and other neutral vessels, having French or British merchandise on board, or trading with certain closed ports, liable to seizure by French or British warships.

The effect of these two orders was to cripple American commerce. Formerly, the orders-in-council had been evaded by the "broken voyage"—a Yankee "trick" by which, for example, French colonial goods were taken first to an American port and then taken to France. But, in 1805, this pleasant business, immensely profitable, was broken by the seizure of the Salem ship, *Essex*. Her voyage from Spain to Havana, a prohibited port by British decree, was declared a single voyage, although the *Essex* had "broken" it by calling at Salem.

New ways and means were soon found to evade this restriction however, and probably the difficulty would have been ironed out by diplomatic representations had not, in 1807, a genuine outrage occurred. The British sloop *Leopard*, under pretext of recovering certain deserters from the British Navy, stopped and boarded the United States frigate *Chesapeake*.

This was ample grounds for war and had Jefferson immediately declared war, even Massachusetts would have joined in enthusiastically. But, Jefferson, perhaps cautious, perhaps ill-advised, perhaps wise, chose another course. He enacted his Embargo, December 22, 1807 which, without harming either France or Britain, sacrificed American commerce—of which Massachusetts owned the lion's share.

Specifically, the embargo prohibited any American vessel to voyage to a foreign port; once an American ship engaged in foreign trade entered a home port it could not obtain papers to sail again to any but another home port—and even this under heavy bonds not to proceed elsewhere. Another act also forbade the bringing into America of any British goods. Of course, on the instant, leaks in the law were discovered and, in addition, a thriving and profitable smuggling business sprang up but, nevertheless, Massachusetts was nearly insane with indignation. The Bay State considered the embargo not only foolish and futile but deliberately and hypocritically an attempt to scuttle Massachusetts' prosperity.

Consider the situation: Massachusetts at the time was the principal maritime State. In China and in many parts of the world, natives, seeing Boston and Salem on the sterns of ships, honestly believed that Boston and Salem were great nations (they saw so many such ships) and the United States a province or dependency of one or the other towns. The State's registered tonnage was more than twice that of any other State in foreign trade and the situation was the same in coastwise traffic. In both whaling and fishing, the Commonwealth owned very nearly all of the ships and, while of course the embargo did not forbid either fishing or whaling, it might just as well have done so for, with foreign trade banned, the fishermen and the whalers lost their markets. If, as historians of the time assert, the average annual earning power per ton of American ships was \$50, then the embargo deprived Massachusetts of nearly \$16,000,000 a year—an amount equal to the entire federal revenue of the time.

The immediate effect of the embargo in Massachusetts was the defeat of the Federalists. Sullivan was elected governor over Strong and the Republicans also carried the Legislature. One of the first articles of agenda for the General Court was the denouncing of the

embargo and the questioning of its constitutionality. As indignation grew in proportion to the damage being wrought, evasions multiplied to such an extent that, in 1809, the federal government passed an "Enforcing Act." Boston waxed furious. A town meeting, reminiscent of the days of 1775, was held and not only was the Act declared unconstitutional and arbitrary but any persons who dared to assist in the execution of its provisions, other than officers of the government, who were bound by oath of office, were "enemies of the Constitution of the United States, enemies of the State of Massachusetts, and hostile to the liberties of the people."

Similar town meetings were held in other parts of the State, particularly in the smaller towns, who were even more badly crippled than Boston and Salem. In 1809, Governor Lincoln, who had taken office following the death of Governor Sullivan, chose to defend the policy of Jefferson and censured the various expostulatory town meetings as highly improper and dangerous to the perpetuity of the Union. He argued that the acts of the Government were in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the citizens of the United States and that Massachusetts, as a minority, should submit gracefully in respect to the principles of democratic government. The General Court in reply disclaimed, naturally, any wish to disturb the integrity of the Union, but tacitly declared that the Embargo should be resisted as being unconstitutional. With this raising of constitutional questions, the Federalists succeeded, temporarily, in regaining partial control of the State, electing Strong, their candidate in 1812 and gaining control once more of the House but the Democratic party still held the Senate. However, one thing united both parties—resistance to the Embargo until its repeal in 1809, and then—hatred of Jefferson and the principles for which he stood.

The lifting of the embargo at once restored prosperity to New England (that is, the larger ports, for the smaller ports never again regained the position they had lost). Boston merchants in particular made fortunes in acting as virtual ferries for supplying the British Army operating against Napoleon with supplies. Trade with Russia also flourished amazingly, as did that with Sweden, to such an extent that Napoleon vainly tried to close the Baltic ports to American vessels and at length was led to start upon his road to St. Helena by invading Russia. America naturally resented Napoleon's attitude, for the Russian trade was a gold mine. One vessel, the *Catherine* of Boston, worth not more than \$7,500, made a profit of more than \$100,000 in a single Russian voyage.

But, while Boston was thus prospering again, President Madison

was following a policy not at all favorable to commerce. And, in 1812, he completed the ruin of the Massachusetts Federalists by declaring war upon Britain. Even now it is difficult to understand his action. Certainly, British impressment of American seamen was no worse in 1812 than it had been for a generation and, at least from the claims of Boston merchants, French impressment of American men, was fully as bad if not worse than the British. Real fundamental commercial and political difficulties could not have been the final cause either, as was proved by the fact that when England repealed her orders-in-council, two days after war had been declared, the Administration voted to continue on the grounds of impressment alone. Whatever may have been the real fact in that tangled and contradictory impressment situation, certainly America was not ready to fight Britain, for the American Navy, the only effectual striking force in a war of this character, was grossly inadequate.

It has been alleged, that Madison's diplomacy was at fault; that Napoleon, seeking an ally against Britain, "tricked America into a war with England." Be that true or not, Massachusetts, pro-British, believed it strongly and did not welcome the war news.

The Massachusetts House of Representatives adopted an address to their constituents, which denounced the war as unwise, inexpedient and unnecessary and declared that the difficulties could have been amicably and honorably adjusted with Britain. The Senate, however, adopted a counter resolve which asserted that the war could not have been avoided in honor and that it was necessary in the preservation of American rights and liberties.

Senator Lloyd, who had taken the place of John Quincy Adams in the United States Senate, probably expressed the attitude of the more important leaders of the Commonwealth, however. Speaking in the Senate in support of a bill for a bigger navy, he said, ". . . peace is the polar star of the policy and the interests of this country. It should be maintained at every cost short of essential sacrifice. It is no disgrace for an infant not to contend with a giant. If all the energy and force of the nation cannot be concentrated to carry on the war, let us record our wrongs, make the best of the existing state of things, and, when we have the ability, punish the aggressors to the last letter of the alphabet. But if we are to go to war, let it be a real and effectual war. Give us a naval force. If, with our commerce abandoned and our navigation swept from the face of the ocean, our houses are to be battered about our ears, and we, at the same time, denied those means of defense which the God of Nature has given us, and which we know how to use, then indeed, the northern section of this

union will be little better off than the colony in Jamaica, and there will be room to suspect that, form apart, we have as little influence in the councils of this government as we have in those of Great Britain.

"If, however, the nation is determined to fight, to make any impression upon England we must have a Navy. . . . Give us then, this little fleet. Place your navy department under an able and spirited administration; give tone to the service; cashier every officer who strikes his flag; and you will soon have a good account of your navy.



TOWN HALL, NORWOOD

This may be said to be a hard tenure of service; but, hard or easy, embark in an actual vigorous war, and in a few weeks, perhaps days, I will engage completely to officer your whole fleet from New England alone. Give us this little fleet, and in a quarter of the time you would operate upon her in any other way we would bring Great Britain to terms. To terms—not to your feet. No, sir. Great Britain is at present the most colossal power the world has ever witnessed. . . . Great Britain cannot be subjected by France. The genius of her institutions, the genuine game-cock, bull-dog spirit of her people, will lift her head above the waves long after the dynasty of Bonaparte, and

the ill-gotten power of France, collected by plunder, perfidy, and usurpation, shall . . . have crumbled into atoms.

"From this belief, I acknowledge, I derive a sentiment of gratulation. In New England, our blood is unmixed. We are the direct descendants of Englishmen. We are natives of the soil. In the legislature now in session, of the respectable and once powerful State of Massachusetts, composed of seven hundred and thirteen members, to my knowledge not a single foreigner holds a seat. As Great Britain wrongs us, I would fight her. Yet I should be worse than a barbarian did I not rejoice that the sepulchres of our forefathers, which are in that country, would remain unsacked, and their coffins rest undisturbed by the unhallowed rapacity of the Goths and the Saracens of modern Europe."

Yet, despite the agitation in Massachusetts and the toil of her national representatives, the war congress adjourned without giving heed to the navy's condition—not a single increase was provided and no provision was made for properly financing vessels actually in commission. Illustrative of the criminal dilatoriness of the Government: The frigate *Constitution*, later, could not have put to sea and added lustre to the American flag by defeating the *Guerrière*, had not private capital provided the ship with supplies.

Further direct evidence of the apathy of New England to the war is given in the failure of Massachusetts owners to send out privateers in the glorious and happy manner they followed in the Revolution. New York and Baltimore both sent out more than fifty such rovers and, in all, the United States had five hundred such vessels engaged—Boston sent out only thirty and Salem but forty, despite the fact that privateering was better fun than service in the Army or Navy and tremendously more profitable.

In fact, so bitter was the hatred of the war in some places in Massachusetts that privateering was discouraged altogether. Newburyport "opposed them strongly" and New Bedford "quarantined for forty days any American privateer" that dared to enter her harbor.

At a naval victory at her front door, such as the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, Boston could not restrain enthusiasm but the General Court refused to honor Lawrence for his capture of the British frigate *Peacock* and when Lawrence, after his death on the gallant *Chesapeake*, was brought home to Salem for burial, not only was a church denied to his family for a funeral service but a militia company refused to act as escort for the cortege.

The popular sentiment of the Commonwealth found expressions in its official acts also. Hardly had hostilities been declared than a controversy began between Governor Strong and the federal government.

Major-General Dearborn, of the United States Army, acting by authority of the President, called upon Massachusetts for forty-one companies of the Massachusetts militia; eight of whom, the General proposed to march into Rhode Island for the defense of that State. To his requisition, Governor Strong made no reply because he was in doubt whether the exigency had occurred which the Constitution provided as the only valid ground to justify the President in calling the militia into active service, nor was the State invaded, nor was it in any immediate danger of invasion. Strong said that there was no desire upon his part to resist the laws of the federal government, or to oppose their enforcement within constitutional bounds.

Shortly Dearborn made a second requisition which again Strong refused to obey, although he, as commander-in-chief of the state's militia did issue a general order requiring the militia to prepare to march at the shortest notice to any place of danger, for the defense of the inhabitants under the direction of their own officers, those specified by the state authorities. Strong also issued orders to bring the militia up to full strength and appointed three major generals to command the militia when it should be called into service.

This defiant action of Strong brought out into the open the bogie of American politics—States' Rights. Strong shortly received a letter from the Secretary of War urging Massachusetts to honor the "request" of General Dearborn, but Strong stood firmly upon his ground and, finally, Dearborn was ordered out of New England and he marched away, taking with him most of the Federal troops who had been garrisoning the coast defense fortifications.

Nationally, Strong's firmness was regarded with uneasiness and distrust and he and the Commonwealth were severely censured by the Democratic party. However, it seems probable that Strong's position, "that I could not comply with the request of an officer of the National Government. . . . But it appeared to me that the requisition was unconstitutional; and I was under the same obligation to maintain the rights of the state as to support the constitution of the United States," was favored by the Commonwealth for, in the 1820 national election, the citizens of Massachusetts gave a majority of twenty five thousand votes to the candidate in opposition to Madison, although the rest of the country did elect him to office again.

During the first part of the war, Britain was too busy in Europe to attempt any invasion of the State. However, as is always the case in a war, general business was interrupted and, in particular, Massachusetts' commerce and trade suffered greatly. Consequently in addition to the financial distress, there was wide political unrest.

Complaints against the Federal Government and its policies were to be heard everywhere and even those patriotic folk, who had welcomed hostilities as the awakening of the nation at last to avenging the insults of Britain, now that they discovered their own personal comfort and well being were being adversely affected, joined with the peace party and were as vehement as the rest in denouncing the war as "one immediately and seriously retarding the prosperity of the State and the Nation."

This open disaffection with the Administration, really, clamorous disagreement, together with the sturdy position assumed by Governor Strong on States' Rights, not to mention the persistence of some wealthy men of the Commonwealth in refusing to lend money to finance the war, gave rise to the national opinion that the people of Massachusetts were not merely disloyal but actually desirous of seceding from the Union. It was even alleged that Massachusetts proposed to unite with the other New England states and form an independent nation. It may have been true that certain radical members of the State's peace party did make such threats but it seems certain that popular opinion, cool and even antagonistic to the War as it was, was not ripe seriously to entertain any such proposals.

In fact, in January, 1813, the General Court, finally assured that the War was a fact and that no overtures of peace were to be expected from England, began to make preparations to meet the emergency. One hundred thousand dollars was voted for the purchase of munitions and supplies and the Governor was authorized to appoint three commissioners to direct the defense of the Commonwealth. Three Revolutionary Generals, Cobb, Heath and Brooks were selected and undertook their tasks.

During 1813, the State again escaped without serious damage. Several times, sea coast towns descried British frigates hovering offshore and hurry-calls for the militia were sounded. Probably the prompt appearance of the military, saved these towns from being raided for, in several instances, British landing parties did plunder remote and small towns.

The year saw no political changes of importance within the State; the Federalists continued their temporary strength, Governor Strong being reelected by a very large majority and the party holding leadership in both branches of the General Court. In June, the General Court, prepared and sent to the Federal Government an address which criticised the war as "impolitic, unnecessary, prompted by lust of conquest, ill conducted, excessively expensive and jeopardizing to interests which New England would never consent to see injured." Also, the General Court prepared and sent to the Adjutant General

of the Army, a request for the War Department to give the State an immediate supply of arms, a supply which, according to the Acts of Congress, the Commonwealth was entitled to have. Perhaps in retaliation for Strong's refusal of General Dearborn's request for militia, the War Department paid no attention to this requisition for arms and it was not until the war was practically concluded that Massachusetts finally did receive an allotment of arms from the national government.

The year saw a measure of prosperity returning to the Commonwealth through the growth of the new enterprise of manufacture of cotton and woolen materials but, on the whole, the State continued to suffer economically and the dissatisfaction of the people grew deeper.

December saw a Federal enactment which stirred the citizens to frenzy. A year's embargo act was passed by Congress which prohibited coastwise trade from one port to another within the same State. This Act destroyed the business of many industrious citizens and added what came very near to being the last straw. Not only did the seafaring class clamor to Boston to protect them from this "cruel, unconstitutional and malicious measure" but the merchant class also became agitated. Governor Strong, seeking action from the General Court declared, "The late acts, interdicting the trade coastwise between different parts of the same state, as well as between the states respectively, contain provisions of such a character as makes it worthy of inquiry whether any measures which can PROPERLY be adopted by the government of this State would be likely to induce Congress to repeal them, or to amend them in such a manner as to render their constitutionality less questionable."

The House of Representatives, in reply to the Governor, ascribed the cause of the War, not to the British orders-in-council, or to "the casual abuses arising from the practice of impressment, which had ceased to be considered by impartial men" as its causes, but rather to "the systematic abandonment of the policy of Washington and of the friends and framers of the constitution; to the implacable animosity against those men; and their exclusion from all concern in the government of the country; to the influence of unprincipled foreigners over the press and the deliberations of the national government in all its branches; to a jealousy of commercial states, envy of their prosperity, fear of their power, contempt for their pursuits, and ignorance of their true character and importance; to the cupidity of certain states for the wilderness reserved for the miserable aborigines; to a violent passion for conquest, and an infatuated belief that neighboring provinces were enamoured of our institutions, and would become an easy

prey to the arts and arms of raw and boastful adventurers; and, above all, to delusive estimates of the relative power and resources of Great Britain and France, and a determined hostility towards the former, as the firmest basis of party power. . . . These will be viewed by the present generation and by posterity, as the sources of our present national evils; and the pretense of aiming to secure the freedom of commerce and seamen, by regulations which compel both merchants and sailors to renounce the ocean of their professions, will be regarded as the boldest delusion ever attempted by a ruling party upon the credulity of an intelligent people."

So strong was this, and other expressions of New England sentiment, that the coastwise embargo was shortly lifted, although not without criticism from other sections of the country. Ingersoll, in his history of the war of 1812, writes: ". . . without secret correspondence or understanding, the influence of England was as strong in Boston and some other parts of New England as it was in Scotland, stronger than it was in Ireland, so far as hostile feeling to France, and every thing but hostile opposition to Madison's administration, as connected with France. There was, at least, sympathetic alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and parts of New England."

This impression of New England's anti-administration feeling and secessionist leanings was mildly, to say the least, strengthened in Washington by the resolution which was considered by the General Court early in 1814. In Congress, a motion was being debated for the authorization of the prosecution of Governor Chittenden of Vermont, because of his proclamation recalling the Vermont militia from service. This was, of course, once again the bogie of States' Rights and the Massachusetts' resolution expressed the sympathy of the Commonwealth and its readiness to aid the Governor and the people of Vermont in any effort to maintain their constitutional rights "by whomsoever infringed." Massachusetts' action excited considerable alarm in Washington but the matter failed to come to a head for, with Congress failing to act upon its motion, the General Court tabled its resolution.

In the spring of 1814, Governor Strong was again elected to office and the Federalist party held its majority in both houses of the General Court. From his address to the Court in June, it was evident that the Governor's opinions in regard to the value of the war were unchanged and, in response, both branches of the Court agreed that, under the circumstances, Congress had no just right to expect or to demand from the Commonwealth any support in the prosecution of the war, other than such as the State was Constitutionally obligated to make and that the Administration was not to rest comfortably in

the assurance that the people by quietly submitting to Federal measures did so either from fear of the consequences of asserting those rights or from ignorance of them.

But, with the summer bringing serious British naval activity off the coast, the General Court shortly deemed it advisable to undertake some measure of cooperation with the Army for protection's sake. Funds were provided for the use of the militia and, at the same time, arrangements were made with General Cushing, commanding United States Army officer of the area, to call out and assume control of the militia of Boston and vicinity, if it should become necessary to repel an invasion. Cushing being soon replaced by Dearborn, the State made a similar arrangement with the General—thus evincing the willingness of the State to act in concert to a limited degree with the Federal government.

Hardly were these concessions made when the expected British attack came. In September, the British left Eastport, (District of Maine) which they had seized earlier, in thirty large vessels and sailed southward, and launched a surprise attack upon Castine and Belfast in Penobscot Bay. The two towns surrendered without resistance. Soon afterwards, not without ravaging and similar pleasantries of war, the fleet came on up the river, towards Hampden where the sloop-of-war *Adams* had been forced to take refuge. It being impossible to retreat or to fight the superior British force, the Americans burned the sloop to prevent her capture. Leaving a garrison in Castine, the British next took Machias without resistance.

At this juncture, Governor Strong appealed to the Secretary of War for assistance, stating the expense to which the Commonwealth had already been put and the need for support. To this appeal, the Secretary replied that he could promise neither money nor troops for the protection of Massachusetts and that the National Government would not reimburse the State for any expenses in connection with the militia excepting in such instances as they were called out in compliance with the requisition of a Federal officer.

Alarmed at the danger into which this desertion of New England by the National Government had delivered the section, the Governor on the 5th of October, convened an extra session of the Court for the purpose of devising measures for the safety of the Commonwealth.

The attitude of the Court was well expressed by the Governor in his message and the Court's reply. The Governor said, "The situation is dangerous and perplexing. We have been led by the terms of the Constitution to rely upon the general government to provide the means of defense; and to that government we have resigned the resources

of the State. It has declared war against a powerful maritime nation, whose fleet can approach every part of our extended coast; and we are disappointed in the expectation of a national defense. But, though we may believe the war was unnecessary, and has been prosecuted without any useful or practicable object against a province of the enemy, while the sea coast of this state has been left almost wholly defenseless;—and though in such a war, we may not afford voluntary aid to any of the offensive operations, there can be no doubt of our right to defend our possessions and dwellings against any hostile attacks.”

The Court replied: “The state of the national treasury requires a great augmentation of existing taxes; and, if, in addition to these, the people of Massachusetts, deprived of their commerce, and harassed by a formidable enemy, are compelled to provide for self-defense, it will soon be impossible for them to sustain the burden. There remains to them no alternative but submission to the enemy, or the control of her resources to repel his aggressions. It is impossible to hesitate in making the election. This people are not ready for conquest or submission. But, being ready and determined to defend themselves, and having no other prospect of adequate means of defense, they have the greatest need of all those resources derivable from themselves, which the national government has thought proper to employ elsewhere.

“But . . . it is not believed that this solemn obligation imposes silence upon our just complaints against the authors of the national calamities. It is, on the contrary, a sacred duty to hold up to view, on all occasions, the destructive policy by which a state of unparalleled national felicity has been converted into one of humiliation, of danger, and distress—believing that, unless an almost ruined people will discard the men and change the measures which have induced this state of peril, the day of their political salvation is passed. It is not to be forgotten that this disastrous state of affairs has been brought upon Massachusetts, not only against her consent, but in opposition to her most earnest protestations. Of the many great evils of war, especially in the present state of Europe, the national rulers were often warned by the people of Massachusetts, whose vital interests were thus put in jeopardy. But the general government, deaf to their voice, and listening to men distinguished in their native state only by their disloyalty to its interests, and the enjoyment of a patronage bestowed upon them as its price, have affected to consider the patriotic citizens of Massachusetts as tainted with disaffection to the Union, and with predilections for Great Britain, and have lavished the public treasure in vain attempts to vasion the odious imputation.”

The resolutions for the defense of the Commonwealth, which followed this statement of conditions, were significant—"That a number of men be raised, not exceeding ten thousand, for twelve months, to be organized and officered by the Governor for the defense of the State. That the governor be authorized to borrow from time to time, a sum not exceeding one million of dollars, and that the faith of the Legislature be pledged to provide funds for the payment of the same. That twelve persons be appointed, as delegates from this Commonwealth, to



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meet and confer with delegates from the other states of New England upon the subject of their public grievances and concerns; upon the best means of preserving our resources, and of defense against the enemy; and to advise and suggest for adoption, by those respective states, such measures as they may deem expedient; and also to take measures, if they shall think it proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people by placing all upon the basis of fair representation."

This last resolution was adopted by a vote of twenty-two to twelve

in the Senate and by two hundred and sixty to ninety in the House. This displays numerically how very popular the sentiment of the Commonwealth was against the War and the Administration. A vote of two to one in the Senate and three to one in the House certainly shows that opinion must have been generally set against conditions.

At any event, Massachusetts had no desire to hide its light under a bushel for the Court voted immediately to communicate intelligence of their resolutions to the nation—letters being ordered sent to all the different states, describing the proceedings and inviting the states to join in such measures “as might be adapted to their local situation, and mutual relations and habits, and not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union.”

The convention thus organized by the General Court has come to be known as the Hartford Convention, as it met in that city, December 15, 1814. It has always been censured very severely as “a studied design to subvert the government and destroy the Union.” In fact, for the subsequent political campaigns, the Democratic party sought votes by denouncing the Federalists as “traitors.” That the convention was extreme cannot be denied, but it was a strong move to meet what was believed to be a critical situation and held at a time when weak, wordy and wishful thinking was distinctly out of place. The personnel and character of the members of the Convention should serve to refute the criticism of this kind—which may still be heard.

“The nest of reptiles, brooding dismemberment in the breast of a virtuous people; whose menaces could do no more than to encourage the enemy and protract the war” was headed by George Cabot of Boston—a businessman, not a politician, “a man of so enlightened a mind, of such wisdom, virtue, and piety, that one must travel far, very far, to find his equal.” Members included: Nathan Dane of Beverly, the author of a Digest of the Common Law, and father of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the North-West Territory; William Prescott, of Boston, father of the historian, a senator, and president of the Common Council of Boston; Harrison Gray Otis, a national senator; Timothy Bigelow, of Medford, a speaker of the House and a councillor; Joshua Thomas of Plymouth, judge of probate for many years; Joseph Lyman of Northampton, the sheriff of Hampshire County; Daniel Waldo of Worcester, a member of the Senate; Hodijah Baylies, officer of the Revolutionary Army and judge of probate for Bristol County; George Bliss of Springfield, a member of the Legislature; Samuel S. Wilde of Newburyport, a judge of the Supreme Court; Stephen Longfellow, Jr., father of the great American poet—these were the men alleged to be “plotting a conspiracy

against the national government, of exciting a civil war, of favouring a dissolution of the Union, of submitting to an allegiance to George III."

James Otis in his *Letters*, writes: "Let any man figure to his mind the scene to be anticipated in the legislatures of the different states, on the presentation of a report recommending a temporary or permanent suspension of our relation to the Union, by a committee, distinctly inhibited from treading on that sacred and dangerous ground. And let him, if he can, settle down in the belief that any person of sound and sober intellect would have felt any conceivable inducement to provoke, and meet, the consequences of such an insult. Where, then, can the incurably jealous look for evidence of the imputed machinations of the convention, which could never have been encouraged by a prospect of success? All they are known to have done wears a very different complexion. In their published report is embodied the result of all their proceedings. Their private journal, since published, also, is a faithful diary of all that was moved in that assembly. The fact has been so certified by the lamented president. What more can be offered, or is ever required, than the natural, intrinsic, irrefragable evidence arising from the original, genuine records and papers of an organized assembly? What evidence can be so conclusive, unless it be supposed that these men, with George Cabot at their head, agreed to drop a plot, and hide their shame by forgery?"

The Convention sat for three weeks, opening each daily session with prayer. Their first act was to accept and approve a preliminary agenda by a committee, as follows: "The powers claimed by the executive of the United States to determine conclusively in respect to calling out the militia of the States into the service of the United States, and the dividing of the United States into military districts, with an officer of the Army in each thereof, with discretionary power from the executive of the United States to call for the militia to be under the command of such officer; the refusal of the executive of the United States to supply or pay the militia of certain states, called out for their defense, on the ground of their not having been, by the executive of the state, put under the command of the commander over the military district; the failure of the government of the United States to supply and pay the militia of the States, by them admitted to have been in the United States' service; the report of the Secretary of War to Congress on filling the ranks of the Army, together with a bill or act upon that subject; the bill before Congress providing for classing and draughting the militia; the expenditure of the revenue of the nation in offensive operations on the neighboring provinces of the

enemy; the failure of the government of the United States to provide for the common defense, and the consequent obligations, necessity, and burdens devolved on the several states to defend themselves; together with the mode, the ways, and the means in their power for accomplishing the object."

Nothing treasonable in this agenda! Nor anything involving a "new New England confederacy, or anti-Federal, unconstitutional, or clandestine transaction."

Finally, after deliberation, the Convention proposed several amendments to the Federal Constitution, which were to be recommended to the several state legislatures for approval or rejection. These amendments, as they appear in the published report of the Convention, are: "1. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to their respective number of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed and all others. 2. No new state shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted by the constitution, without the concurrence of two thirds of both Houses. 3. Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports and harbors thereof, for more than sixty days. 4. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation, or the dependencies thereof. 5. Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two thirds of both Houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded. 6. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, nor capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States. 7. The same person shall not be elected president of the United States a second time; nor shall the president be elected from the same State two terms in succession."

This then, was the "treason" of the Hartford convention. A batch of amendments to the Constitution, substantially similar to those which, a generation before, had been agitated at the time of the ratification of the Constitution by the very politicians who now seized the opportunity to make capital out of denouncing what the members of their own party had then considered necessary to prevent the encroachments of the Federal Government. Times do change and so do men's opinions and thus is presented the spectacle of the first two political

parties in America neatly effecting a change of viewpoint—without a change in name.

Such philosophy aside, it seems evident that the entire nation was not altogether unsympathetic to Massachusetts, for on January 27, 1815, less than three weeks after the Hartford Convention adjourned, Congress passed a law adjusting somewhat the most controverted point at issue; the control of the militia. The words of the Act as passed by Congress, speak for themselves: "That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized and required to receive into the service of the United States any corps of troops which may have been, or may be, raised, organized, and officered under the authority of any of the States, whose term of service shall not be less than twelve months; which corps, when received into the service of the United States, shall be subject to the rules and articles of war, and be employed in the State raising the same, or in an adjoining state, and not elsewhere, except with the assent of the executive of the state so raising the same."

And not only this, but, in February, the National Senate on motion of Senator Varnum of Massachusetts, "Resolved, that the committee to whom was referred that part of the President's message . . . which relates to the military establishment, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making provision by law for the payment of the militia which have been called out by the authority of any state for the defense of any part of the United States against invasion, since the commencement of the present war, and not taken into the pay of the United States, and for reimbursing any state for any moneys advanced for pay, rations, camp equipage, and all other expenses necessarily incurred in calling out the militia, according to the rules and regulations prescribed by law for defraying the expense of calling out the militia by authority of the United States."

And, of course, Massachusetts approved of the action of the Convention. The General Court approved specifically in these terms: "The expediency of having invited a convention of delegates from the New England States is fully proved by the result of their labors . . . The Committee entertain a high sense of the wisdom and ability with which this convention have (sic) discharged their arduous trust; and, while they maintain the principle of state sovereignty, and of the duties which citizens owe to their respective state governments, they give the most satisfactory proofs of attachment to the Constitution of the United States and to the national Union." This resolution was passed by a vote of one hundred and fifty nine to forty eight. It also directed the Governor to appoint three commissioners to proceed

immediately to the National capital, "requesting the consent of the General Congress to the measures recommended by the Convention." Harrison Gray Otis, Thomas H. Perkins and William Sullivan, all of Boston, were appointed by the Governor and rushed off to Washington—"where they arrived one day after the news of peace had reached that city." They were not well received in the capital. Indeed, they turned around and came home.

It is to be hoped that the reader will pardon the length at which the Hartford Convention has been reported but such treatment has seemed necessary because of the criticisms of the time and their perennial nature—persisting even in the pages of modern writers. That some folks in Massachusetts were in favor of a disunion of the United States, cannot be denied. It was advocated by some speakers of the day, as in a pamphlet entitled, *Thoughts, in a Series of Letters, in Answer to the Question respecting the Division of the States, by a Massachusetts Farmer*. Yet, it cannot be denied on the other hand that the majority at least of the citizens of the Commonwealth, had no design to subvert the Constitution for, as has been made evident in these pages, all the criticism leveled by the State against the Federal Government was based upon Constitutional grounds. And, specifically, it cannot be maintained that the Hartford Convention itself was disloyal, "for the report sent out by that body is a temperate document, protesting against injustice, indeed, but breathing a spirit of loyalty to the Union."

As for the war in Massachusetts, meanwhile, the winter of 1814-15 was a period of great distress and anxiety for the folks of the Commonwealth. The British were still in possession of portions of northern Maine coast and the Secretary of War requested Governor Strong to call out five thousand men of the Massachusetts militia to assist the Federal government in a projected campaign to drive the red coats out of Castine and other garrisoned towns. Strong, however, discovering that the campaign did not entail any considerable cooperation with the United States Navy, declined to "offer Massachusetts men for sacrifice" on the ground that such a plan as the Government contemplated would be futile without the aid of an effective naval force.

Economically the citizens of Massachusetts were in dire straits. The long suspension of commerce and trade had led to the impoverishment of thousands of families and the stagnation of all business, through its general dependency upon commerce and foreign trade, created a desperate situation in that practically all of the necessities of life were inflated in value and commanded exorbitant prices. The State itself was greatly reduced financially; as is clearly displayed by

the Governor, replying to a demand for aid from the Federal Government, that the Commonwealth could not "possibly spare any part of the little she had remaining."

To add to the gloom of the winter, it was generally feared throughout America that negotiations for peace, which had been under-way for some time, would be futile. Early in March, M. Daschkoff, Russian minister at Washington, had offered the mediation of Emperor Alexander between Great Britain and the United States and on March 11th, 1813, the president, about whom gigantic political and economic difficulties were gathering, accepted and appointed as commissioners a party of five, among whom was John Quincy Adams of Boston.

Britain was not particularly interested, in fact, the English war party was as eager to eat fire as the American "eagle screamers" had been and loudly expressed their delight that England had a splendid opportunity to "signally punish a pusillanimous and unnatural nation of democrats, who had seized, for an attack upon Great Britain, the moment of her greatest pressure, and whose insolence, encouraged by naval successes, ought to be checked." However, the English government shortly made overtures of peace and negotiations were at length begun. They proceeded very slowly, however, and in June and July, letters were sent home pointing out that the question of impressment was proving to be a stumbling block in the path of peace. Accordingly, authority was sent to the Commissioners from Washington to refer the business of impressment to a separate negotiation, to commence after peace was declared. After this, nothing particular was heard from the Commissioners, who had finally settled down with the British at Ghent, in Holland, save that it was learned that John Quincy Adams was stubbornly fighting for the rights of his Commonwealth's fishermen to engage in their trade upon the Grand Banks, the richest fishing ground then known, which England, naturally, desired to close to America.

But, nevertheless, under Adams' skillful diplomacy, peace was accomplished on December 28th, 1814—although the news did not reach America until February 13, 1815, before which the bloody battle of New Orleans was fought and won.

The unexpected news of peace, bursting into the darkness of one of the gloomiest winters the Commonwealth has ever known, created a wild frenzy of joy. "It was the occasion of sincere and universal rejoicing, with the exception perhaps of contractors, office-holders, and others, who were making great gains by the war and, of course, were interested in its continuance. To the administration it was an inex-

pressible relief . . . and the people were happy to learn of the restoration of peace, the revival of commercial enterprise, and the prospect of a diminution of taxes in the future." Both branches of the General Court joined in celebrating the event; a procession was formed and paraded noisily through the streets; a sumptuous banquet was given in Faneuil Hall; and, in the evening, all of Boston (and many other towns as well) was brilliantly illuminated.

In the universal enthusiasm, everyone lost sight of the fact that the question of impressment, over which the war was ostensibly fought, had not been mentioned in the treaty, and forgot party differences in the "certain prospect of better days." Whatever had been the differences of opinion about the war, no one could fail to rejoice that it had been concluded.

If the incidents of the war itself have not been considered in this account, it is because, since they were outside of the limits of Massachusetts, they do not fall within the present purpose. But, ineffective as the war was, the American character for patriotism and courage had not suffered in the least. The victories of the Navy and the successes of the Army, reflected great credit upon the sailors and the soldiers, all the more because of the inefficiency of the Administration. The crowning battle of the War, General Jackson's victory at New Orleans, was everywhere applauded and the Massachusetts General Court, lukewarm as they had been to the naval battles fought at their very door, passed a vote of thanks to Jackson and "his brave associates," thus joining in the universal applause which Americans have always given military heroes.

CHAPTER XXXII

Birth of Industry

The decade following the War of 1812 was quiet and peaceful and, naturally, prosperous for the Commonwealth.

Politically there were no great changes. Despite a measure of unpopularity over his refusal to call out the militia and his sturdy championship of States' Rights, Governor Strong was reelected in 1815 and was followed in 1816 by General John Brooks, soldier and statesman, who held office continuously until 1823, when he declined reelection. Brooks' administration was characterized "by dignity, honesty and energy."

The major political event was the separation from the State of the District of Maine and its erection into a sovereign member of the United States. Maine had never rested easily under the yoke of Massachusetts, and, as soon as the War of 1812 was concluded, residents of the District began a fresh agitation for separation. The first petition for separation was received by the General Court in 1816 and the Legislature established a convention, held at Brunswick, to consider the matter. Following a delay of three years, in 1819 the matter was again pushed and the General Court that year consented to the separation on certain conditions concerning public lands and if the citizens of Maine should favor separation by a majority of not less than fifteen hundred. In 1820, this majority was obtained and, Congress having assented, Maine embarked upon the control of her own destiny.

Despite this loss of much of her territory and one third of her citizens, the Commonwealth greatly increased in wealth and power during the period. This prosperity was, oddly enough, due to the embargo. Jefferson's "masterpiece of duplicity" had the effect not so much of ruining the Commonwealth by the "scuttling of its marine" but of turning the genius and the resources of the State into a new field—industry.

Of course, after peace was declared, there was a great boom in shipping and foreign trade, but Yankee ships found that the world had changed and the fabulous profits of the old days were not only

lacking altogether but that old markets were either closed entirely or open to competition with other nations.

More important, especially for the internal trade, the westward migration had shifted the center of population to the South and West and New England was to discover that the Berkshires were a barrier which gave New York, Baltimore and New Orleans such great natural advantages that Boston could not much longer retain her supreme position.

The Commonwealth's futile Federalism had not only made the State unpopular with other States but lost her, at least temporarily, all influence at Washington. Thus, as new markets were hard to find and profits were so much smaller than before, Boston became pessimistic. That is, the old folks did. But, younger sons saw an opportunity in the crisis. Embargo and war had acted automatically as a mountain-high tariff upon English goods and there existed right at home a great market for manufactured goods.

There was capital in abundance; money heaped up from the gains of once magical foreign trade. There was water-power in abundance, too, and skilled labor for the hiring at absurdly low wages. Of course the answer was, for families possessed of fortune and intelligence, to turn from the sea and set up as industrial dynasties. In Waltham, even before peace was declared, the Lowell family set up power machinery and erected the first complete cotton manufactory in America. In 1816, against the opposition of the merchants, the Lowells and other interested parties obtained a protective tariff—and the boom was on. Within a few years Lowell, Lawrence, Chicopee, Manchester and other manufacturing centers were founded and throughout the section, men turned from the sea to the factory. Every stream was a potential gold mine and even today the beds of most New England streams are filled with shallow pools and little water-falls, the relics of the hundreds of dams that were thrown across them a hundred years ago to furnish power not only for cotton and woolen spinning but for a thousand and one manufacturing enterprises that Yankee ingenuity created or adapted. Even villages like Marblehead that were without power, forsook fishing for shoe making and, as the years went on, even the once world-famous shipping city of Salem saw her last trading ships berthing in solitary beauty under the walls of a cotton mill.

Some idea of the magnitude of the boom in manufacturing can be gained by the fact that the Legislature in 1814 and 1815, was requested to incorporate some thirty four companies being formed for the manufacture of woolen and cotton cloth. These companies included: The



Washington's Visit to
The First Cotton Mill.
October 30, 1789.

"WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO THE FIRST COTTON MILL, BEVERLY, OCTOBER 30, 1789"
From water color in sepia by George Elmer Browne. Essex Institute Collection

Courtesy of The Essex Institute

Haverhill Cotton and Woollen Manufactory; the Ashburnham Cotton Factory Company; the Athol Manufacturing Company; the Dalton Cotton and Paper Manufactory; the Paris Manufacturing Company; the Northbridge Cotton and Cloth Manufacturing Company; the Holliston Cloth Manufactory; the Wellington Cotton Mill Company; the Springfield Manufacturing Company; the Oxford Central Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company; the Globe Manufacturing Company; the Stoughton Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company; the Cotton, Woollen and Linen Company of West Precinct in Bridgewater; the Stow and Watertown Cotton Factory Company; the Monson Woollen, and Foxboro Cotton Manufacturing Companies; the Wellfleet, and Easton Manufacturing Companies, the Oakham Cotton and Woollen Factory Company; the Stockbridge Cotton and Woollen, and the Stockbridge Cotton Manufacturing Companies; the Rock-bottom Cotton and Woollen Factory, the Farmers' Manufacturing Company in Lenox; the Steep Brook Cotton and Woollen and the Lisbon Manufacturing Companies; the Brimfield Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company, the Westport Cotton Manufacturing Company, the Dean Cotton Manufacturing Company, the Farmers' Cotton and Woollen Factory of Union; the Union Cotton Factory Company; the Duxbury South River Manufacturing Company; the Stratton Cotton Manufacturing Company; and the Phillipston Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company.

Too great emphasis cannot be laid upon the importance of this development. What might have been the fate of the State if it had waited supinely for a revival of its maritime glory need not be conjectured; the present day position of Boston is eloquent enough to answer that question. Agriculturally, the State could not have prospered, either. But, although devoid of raw materials for manufacturing, Massachusetts took the leadership in industry as she did originally in commerce, and, as a result built up a tremendous prosperity.

Because of the mills, railroads were built, farms were multiplied as they found markets for their produce, commerce was not stimulated but actually created and the State's wealth so increased that, although tucked away in a remote corner of the map, walled in by mountains and possessed of a barren soil, the Commonwealth for many generations set the standards of civilization for America.

Thus, two hundred years of the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ended. In a large way, thereafter, the State more and more merged itself with the body of the nation and lost much of its

characteristic independence but the first two hundred years remain, and may "be confidently affirmed" to be "outstanding among the histories of the other States of the Union." The historian Bradford, commenting upon the people of the time said: "They are not fond of great changes; and to mere innovations they are decidedly averse. Their first desire is to give their children a good education, and to maintain the literary and religious institutions of the Commonwealth. They acknowledge the importance of useful employment for all classes and ages, and are desirous that their children should acquire early habits of study and industry. They are ever ready to encourage useful inventions, and to adopt improvements in agriculture and the mechanic arts, although they are deviations from the pursuits of their ancestors. With such an intelligent and moral population . . ."

There, in a few words, is Massachusetts from 1620 to 1820.

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